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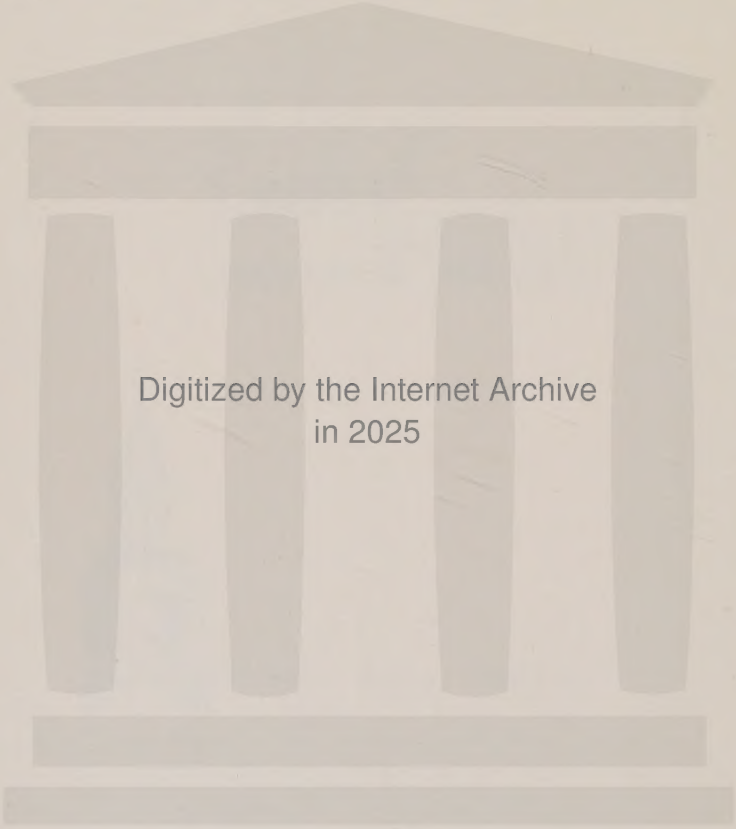
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No. 8.

An Introductory Sketch to the MARTIN MARPRELATE *Controversy.*

1588—1590.

The English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works

An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy

1588—1590

EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER

F.S.A. ETC. LATE EXAMINER IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE TO THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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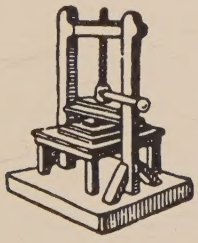

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GENERAL PREFACE.

ON the threshold of much heated Controversy, it is needful to say a few words as to our standpoint thereto. This Series is not calculated to the meridian of either the Assent or Dissent of British islanders to the principle of a State Church; but appeals in ecclesiastical matters to the cultivated common sense of all men who can read English.

It is confessed that in no colony or new commonwealth now-a-days should the foundation of a State Church of any kind be attempted. Apparently also we are in the last century of such institutions in this island: so that when the Centenary of the abolition of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland arrives, there may be no State Presbytery in Scotland or State Episcopacy in England in existence. Yet while such organizations are politically doomed; they never were more useful, they never came nearer to their ideal. If they pass away, it will be because they are a fundamental violation of the equality of Protestant citizenship in this realm. All assumptions and theories for them have expired. They confessedly subsist by the will of the majority of the voters: so that one or two political waves of Liberalism may accomplish their removal. Whenever it may come; may it be done considerately, and with a full regard for the individual interests of the State clergy: and especially may it result in the ministry of all GOD's teachers being strengthened as the First of the Professions; so that mere money-makers may not have sway in all things.

2. *The Enthralment of Dogmas and Creeds is gone. A man may with the most perfect rectitude be either an Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Quaker, Baptist, or Congregationalist, just as he finds he can get most good or be able to join others in doing most good. Denominations are borrowing from each other whatever seems likely to be useful in leading men to higher motives and aspirations. Even Dissenters—who originally separated for a purer process of worship—do not now claim for their imitation of the methods of the infant Christian church any higher authority than that of inherent fitness. Their seven Deacons are going out of fashion, and are replaced by Church Committees elected by ballot. Many of the Nonconformists know half the Prayer Book by heart, and delight especially in its Collects. There is also in progress a general levelling-up of the Dissenting clergy to the culture and thought of their State* confrères ; *who in turn do emulate them in their preaching power and adapted eloquence.*

So that the experience of the last three hundred years has notably and utterly falsified the cardinal doctrine of the Puritans that GOD has appointed for all *men any* one certain necessary and perpetual order for discipline : *and it will never again be in the power of religious teachers—whether from personal conviction or from self-interest—by any manner of formulated truth to separate and isolate the laity from mutual sympathy and regard with those who do not worship in precisely the same way. For the mind of man is so frail, his nature so weak, that a large margin must be allowed for idiosyncrasies, temperament, education, and what not. Is not each man's Theology but the expression of GOD's truth after its passage through his human character; just like the sunlight —sometimes clear, sometimes dimmed with earthly clouds— streaming through a stained glass window? All which is an everlasting argument to us men, for moderation and mutual toleration.*

3. *We are therefore now not much concerned about the ecclesiastical theories of either Protestant or Precisian. If* WHITGIFT *believed in the Divine Right of Archbishops, or* UDALL *was ready to wage his life on a disputation for the "Holy Discipline;" both matters were fair subjects for argument. Either view might be held by a Christian man. But if* WHITGIFT, *by an abuse of his prerogative, imprisoned* PENRY *for a month or kept* BARROW *six months a close prisoner in the Gate House, without accusation or trial; that excites in us an immediate and intense interest.*

It is in this matter of Civil Rights that the MARTIN MARPRELATE *tracts are so important in our history. In many respects, they were the attempt of Wit to fight (though at desperate odds) against Cruelty for permission to worship GOD according to the dictates of Conscience.*

Whatever frenzies or narrow-mindedness may be chargeable to the Puritans, they were undoubtedly the Founders of our present freedom: while the Bishops and their entourage, *with all their patristic learning and general culture, were the supporters of arbitrary power and the active instruments of the people's repression. No amount of historical research can obliterate this distinction.*

It is important to remember that a Bishop after the Restoration was but a shadow of what a Bishop had been, before the Long Parliament broke the rod of their oppression. They continued to be Personages and Presences until almost our own day, but their temporal power departed for ever in the time of the Commonwealth.

4. *We have at least one ready test at hand wherewith to measure the wisdom or unwisdom of these Puritan Reformers, in the verdict of posterity upon their propositions.*

They protested against the general circulation of the Apocrypha with the canonical Scriptures. It has ceased to be so circulated, and is all but banished from the Lectionary of the Anglican

Church. They protested against oaths; these have been almost altogether abolished. They argued that marriage was a civil contract, with which the Minister had necessarily nothing to do. Marriage before a Registrar is now of constant and increasing occurrence.

On the other hand, some of their views on secular subjects, as the supporting of a ministry by pure almsgiving, have been found to be impracticable and visionary.

At any rate, whatever our personal prepossessions may be, this rough test is available for us, especially in considering the ecclesiastical abuses of that time.

5. *This special Controversy was the outcome of* WHITGIFT'S *deliberate plan of Church Government: but it is also an episode in that general movement of English mind upon which we delight to think.*

What a wake up the Reformation under HENRY VIII. *was to English thinkers? The Faith of ages found to be an imposture! What* was *there before them in the future? How Thought went out! and went forward! Then came the first labours of a literary Infancy; translations, compilations, abridgements. Then, with some checks, came mental Adolescence; the dawn and glow of Imagination revelling in Fancy and Love, in Drama and Allegory, in Madrigal and Sonnet. Then the "dry light" of an intellectual Manhood, reaching forward in its breadth and strength to all the questions of which the nature of man can have any cognizance, from the roots of human society to the heights of heavenly contemplation.*

*Two books may express the beginning and the maturity of this education of the English mind—*TYNDALE'S *translation of the* New Testament *in* 1526, *and* HOBBE'S Leviathan *in* 1651.

In this continued movement, this particular Controversy occurs about the time when the "dry light" came to the front.

To the courteous Reader.

HAT follows is the first scientific attempt that has been made to unravel this Controversy. Hitherto the Martinists have been largely vilified, their works considered blasphemous, and their purposes treasonable. There is neither blasphemy nor treason to be found in their writings. Their authors, confessedly men of irreproachable moral character, merely adopted the "extemporizing" style of RICHARD TARLETON the actor, to ridicule and affront a proud hierarchy endowed with large legal means of doing mischief, and not wanting in will to exercise those powers to the full.

The spell of the unnatural civil power which had been enjoyed by the Papal prelates in this country remained with their Protestant successors until this Controversy broke it: so that from this time onwards the bishops set about to forge a new spell, "the Divine Right of their temporal position and power," which hallucination was dissolved by

the Long Parliament: from which time a Bishop has usually been considered no more than a man.

Hear the author's own description of his purpose!

I am called MARTIN MARPRELAT. *There be many that greatly dislike of my doinges. I may haue my wants I know. For I am a man. But my course I knowe to be ordinary and lawfull. I sawe the cause of Christs gouernment | and of the Bishops Antichristian dealing to be hidden. The most part of men could not be gotten to read any thing | written in the defence of the on[e] and against the other. I bethought mee therefore | of a way whereby men might be drawne to do both | perceiuing the humors of men in these times (especialy of those that are in any place) to be giuen to mirth. I tooke that course. I might lawfully do it. I | for iesting is lawful by circumstances | euen in the greatest matters. The circumstances of time | place and persons vrged me thereunto. I neuer profaned the word in any iest. Other mirth I vsed as a couert | wherin I would bring the truth into light. The Lord being the authour both of mirth and grauitie, is it not lawfull in it selfe | for the trueth to vse eyther of these wayes | when the circumstances do make it lawful?*

My purpose was and is to do good. I know I haue don[e] no harme howsoeuer som[e] may iudg Martin to mar al. They are very weake on[e]s that so think. In that which I haue written I know vndoubtedly | that I haue done the Lord and the state of this kingdom great seruice. Because I haue in som[e] sort | discouered

the greatest enemies thereof. And by so much the most pestilent enemies / because they wound Gods relligion / and corrupt the state with Atheism and loos[e]nes and so cal for Gods vengance vppon vs all / euen vnder the coulor of relligion. I affirm them to be the greatest enemies that now our state hath / for if it were not for them / the trueth should haue more free passage herein / then now it hath. All [e]states thereby would be amended: and so we should not be subiect vnto Gods displeasure / as now we are by reason of them.—Hay any Work &c. *p.* 22. Ed. 1880.

The iniquities of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of that time, of the High Commission and the Bishops' Courts, and especially those gross abuses of the oath *ex officio* and of the power of *excommunication*, would, to us, have justified a far stronger attack than Martinist onslaught, pungent as that was.

At the same time, the Puritans did not conceal that had they got the same legal power, they would have exercised it in religious matters as well, though not in the same arbitrary way.

These enormities of compulsion in religion apart — the jagged lines of this Dispute are interesting to the student of doctrine &c., as showing precisely, the exact rift between Protestant and Puritan in matters of faith and Church order at this time.

There are also numerous allusions to the Controversy under the names of "*MARTIN*" and "Martinist" in the popular

literature of that age, the full meaning of which will now be transparent.

The antecedent development of each party in the nation and their mutually increasing divergence will be found admirably sketched out by Lord Bacon at *pp.* 146–168. In the Story of England, this Controversy comes the very next thing after the Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

While one regrets the frequent narrowmindness, the want of culture, and sometimes the ignorant fanaticism that characterized so many of the Puritans; as a whole, they were in the right. They saved England from a perpetual tyranny. They were essentially a law-abiding class. In time, they learnt the hard lesson of toleration. Let their great acts and greater long-suffering be remembered with gratitude for ever!

E. A.

Some Particulars about J. Udall and J. Penry.

From COOPER's *Athenæ Cantabr.*, ii. *Ed.* 1861.

John Udall was matriculated a sizar of Christ's College 15th of March 1577–78, but soon afterwards migrated to Trinity College. He proceeded B.A. 1580–81, and commenced M.A. 1584. Having taken holy orders, he officiated as a minister at Kingston upon Thames. . . .

His puritanical doctrines however gave offence to some of his hearers, and he was convened before [THOMAS COOPER] the Bishop of WINCHESTER and [WILLIAM DAYE] the Dean of WINDSOR, and afterwards before the Court of High Commission at Lambeth. Through the influence of the Countess of WARWICK and Sir DRUE DRURY he was restored to his ministry, but in 1588 he was again suspended and deprived of his living. . . .

In the meanwhile he was confined in the [*prison called*] the White Lion, Southwark. He was offered a pardon if he would sign a recantation, which he refused to do in the terms proposed. On being placed at the bar of the Southwark Assizes in Feb. 1590–91, he in vain argued several matters in arrest of judgment, and was sentenced to death. It was resolved to spare his life however, and several attempts were made to induce him to sign a submission. JAMES VI. of Scotland, Sir WALTER RALEIGH and Dean NOWELL interested themselves on his behalf; but unsuccessfully. He had promised on his liberation to go to Syria or Guinea for the Turkey merchants, but their ships going without him he died in the Marshalsea [prison] about the end of the year 1592 quite heart broken with sorrow and grief. His body was interred in the churchyard of S. George's Southwark; being followed to the grave by a great number of London ministers. It is said that the first person JAMES I. inquired after when he came to England was Master UDALL. On being informed that he was no more, he exclaimed, "By my sal then the greatest scholar in Europe's dedd."—*pp.* 148–149.

[*That* WHITGIFT *was responsible for* UDALL's *death, is clear from the following account of the Turkey business given by* UDALL *himself.*

Presently upon these things fell out that wretched matter of that lewd fellow HACKET, whereby the adversary did take occasion so to slaunder the truth and to disgrace the Professors of the same unto her Majestie, that I thought it bootlesse to sue. And so I did little til the Lord Chancellor [Sir C. HATTON] was dead and forgotten by such as were sorry for it, so that about *Easter* terme [12th April–8th May 1592] following, I sued for liberty to goe to Church, which was denyed mee being a condemned man, but by the Lord Treasurers [Lord BURGHLEY] meanes I got a copy of my Inditement, which before I could not obtaine.

Hereupon I getting a pardon [*i.e. a form of pardon*] framed accord-

ing to the Inditement, sent it with a Petition by my Wife to the Councell, who referred me to the Arch-bishop: unto whom I both sent diverse Petitions and dutifull Letters, and also got many of my friends both honourable personages and others, to sue to him; yet could not his good will be gotten. At last the *Turkie* merchants having my consent to goe for a time into *Guynea* to teach their people that abide in that place, if they could procure my liberty, sent unto him for his consent; who promised his good will so that they would be bound that I should goe indeed when I had my liberty. But when two of the Auncients of the Company went unto him for his hand thereunto; he would not yeeld it, unlesse they would be bound not onely that I should goe (which they were willing unto) but also that I should tarry there, till I had her Majesties licence to come thence. This Condition they could not yeeld unto, for that I denyed to go upon any such ground.

So was their suite and my hope of liberty at an end, saving that one Master CAVELL, who had bin the first beginner of it, and being to goe into *Turkie* did most affect it, moved [ALEXANDER NOWELL] the Deane of *Pauls* in it: who thereupon wrote to the Lord Keeper [Sir JOHN PUCKERING] perswading him of the conveniencie of that Journey for me, and my fitnesse thereunto; which letter, when he received [it], he did so deale with the Arch-bishop, as they both promised at their meeting at Court to deale with her Majestie, to signe my pardon, that so I might have liberty to go the Voyage.

A new Discovery, &c., pp. 43, 44. *Ed.* 1643.]

John Penry was born in 1559 in Brecknockshire, and there seems good reason to suppose at Cefnbrith in Llangamarch. He was matriculated [at Cambridge] as a pensioner of Peterhouse 3rd Dec. 1580. At this period it is said that his sympathies were with the ministers of the Roman Catholic church, whom he joined in worship whenever opportunity offered. Ultimately however he embraced the opinions of the Puritans. In 1583-84 he proceeded B.A.

Subsequently he became a Commoner of S. Alban Hall, Oxford, taking the degree of M.A. in that University 11 July 1586. We are told that he about that time took holy orders, preached both at Oxford and Cambridge; and was esteemed a tolerable scholar, an edifying preacher, and a good man.

He married Eleanor daughter of Henry Godly of Northampton. We are unacquainted with the names of his four daughters. The eldest of them was but four years old at the time her father suffered.

He was hanged at S. Thomas-a-Watering in Surrey, about five o'clock in the afternoon of the 29th of May [1593]. Only a few hours notice to prepare for death were given him. The suddenness of his execution arose, it was alleged, from the desire to avoid tumult.—*p.* 154.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF THE GENERAL CONTROVERSY.

A. DESCRIPTIONS.

As to the Study of this Controversy, we may refer

First, to the References at the end of the articles UDALL and PENRY in Messrs. COOPER's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, ii. *Ed.* 1861.

Next, to the following work which deals somewhat with the subject—

1839. London. 8vo. *Elizabethan Religious History*, by HENRY SOAMES, M.A.

Thirdly, to the only work hitherto attempting a survey of the Dispute as a whole—

1845. London. 8vo. *A History of the Martin Marprelate Controversy in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.* By Rev. WILLIAM MASKELL, M.A.

A reprint, with considerable additions, of an article in the *Christian Remembrancer*. Popularly written by one who has, we believe, since joined the Roman Catholic church. Not a bad first attempt, but with no grasp of the sequence and progression of the Controversy.

Fourthly, to the following popular biography, by a Nonconformist Divine, wherein it is touched upon—

1854. London. 8vo. *JOHN PENRY, the Pilgrim Martyr*, 1559–1593, by Rev. JOHN WADDINGTON, D.D.

The writer considers that PENRY's name was unjustly associated with the authorship of the *MARPRELATE* tracts, upon which he appears to look with some horror.

Lastly, to the present *Introductory Sketch &c.*

B. REPRINTS.

a 1642. [London]. 4to. *Hay any Work for Cooper.*

b 1842–1846. London. *Puritan Discipline Tracts.* Edited and Published by JOHN PETHERAM, a bookseller in Chancery Lane.

1842. London. 8vo. *MARTIN MARPRELATE's Epistle.*
1843. London. 8vo. *MARTIN MARPRELATE's Epitome.*
1845. London. 8vo. *MARTIN MARPRELATE's Hay any work for Cooper.*
1844. London. 8vo. DOUBLE V. *Pappe with an hatchet.*
1846. London. 8vo. CUTBERT CURRY-KNAVE. *An Almond for a Parrat.*

c 1847. London. 8vo. Bishop THOMAS COOPER's *Admonition to the people of England.* Similarly published by Mr. PETHERAM.

d 1879–1880. *The English Scholar's Library &c.*

C. IMITATIONS.

See titles of some of the replies at *pp.* 139–141. There was also a MAR-SIXTUS in the title of a book about this time, and a work written by MAR-POPE in 1683.

The following were apparently written by one and the same Author—

(1.) [8 April] 1645. London. 4to. The Araignement of Mr. Persecution. Presented to the consideration of the House of Commons, and to all the common people of England. Wherein he is indicted, araigned, convicted, and condemned of enmity against God and all Goodnesse, of Treasons, Rebellion, Bloodshed &c., and sent to the place of Execution.

In the prosecution whereof, the Iesuiticall Designes, and secret Encroachment of his Defendants, Sir SYMON SYNOD, and the JOHN of all Sir JOHNS, Sir JOHN PRESBITER, upon the Liberty of the Subject is detected, and laid open.

By yonge MARTIN MAR-PRIEST, son to old MARTIN the Metrapolitane.

Europe. Printed by MARTIN CLAW-CLERGIE, Printer to the Reverend Assembly of Divines, and are to be should in his Shop in Toleration Street, at the Signe of the *Subjects Liberty*, right opposite to Persecuting Court. 1645.

(2.) 1645. London. 4to. A Second Edition, Enlarged and corrected by the Author.

(3.) [27 June 1645.] London. 4to. MARTIN's Echo: or a Remonstrance, from his Holiness reverend Young MARTIN MAR-PRIEST, responsorie to the late Sacred Synoddicall Decretall, in all humility presented to the reverend, pious, and grave consideration of the Right Reverend Father in God, the Vniversall Bishop of our soules, his superlative Holinesse Sir SYMON SYNOD.

(4.) [29 Dec. 1645.] 1646. London. 4to. The Ordinance for Tythes dismounted, from all Mosaicall, Evangelicall, and true Magisteriall Right. By that Valiant and Victorious Champion, the great Anti-Clergy of our times, his Superlative Holyness, Reverend Young MARTIN MAR-PRIEST, sonne to Old MARTIN the Metropolitane.

(5.) [24 January.] 1646. Divine Observations upon the London Ministers Letter against Toleration. By his Synoddicall, Priest-byter-all, Nationall, Provinciall, Classicall, Congregationall, Superlative, Un-erring, Clericall, Accademicall Holynesse, Reverend Yongue MARTIN MAR-PRIEST, Sonne, and Heire to Old MARTIN the Metrapolitane.

An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy.

SECTION I.

The general Episcopal Administration, Censorship and Treatment of the Puritans.

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IV. 13 Mar. Lamentable Petition to the Queen from the Puritans 35–38

IV. 18 Mar. Henry Barrow's Account of his Examination before the Privy Council 40–48

IV. [May or June]. Names of sundry Puritans imprisoned by the Bishops 38–40

V. 30 June. The clerical Censors appointed by Archbishop Whitgift 49–51

An Introductory Sketch to the MARTIN MARPRELATE Controversy.

AS WE cannot rightly understand the nature and circumstances of this sharp Ecclesiastical Conflict without some previous acquaintance with the civil authority and secular prerogatives which were attached to the office of an English Bishop—as the Ordinary or Ecclesiastical Judge of his diocese—in the reigns of ELIZABETH and the first two Stuart kings: it will be needful for us briefly to glance at such of their official functions as impinged thereon; in order that we may realize the difficulty of the attack made upon the prelates, and so measure the energy, skill and resolution with which it was carried out. For in respect to merely human probabilities, it was like a few sharp-shooters attacking fenced cities.

This temporal power had come down from papal times. With a purification of teaching and worship; there had not been made a revision of the external pomp and prerogative of the hierarchy. Hence there have always since been in the Church of England two currents, two parties. One carrying on the internal work of the Reformers: the other, if not despiteful to the Reformation, at all events more regarding the Church in its external aspect, as it filled the eye of the world, as it was a great social institution, a great Office of State, rather than as an incisive power for spiritualizing the nation.

Two very reasonable tests were early applied to English Bishops? Were they preachers? Were they learned in their own profession? We now-a-

days can hardly realize that they were ever otherwise: but Bishop LATIMER tells us another story, when, in his sermon on the *Ploughers* on the 18th January, 1549, he thus attacked his own order; who, be it remembered, were the Protestant Bishops of Edward VI.'s reign.

But thys muche I dare say, that sence lording and loytryng have come vp, preaching hath come downe, contrarie to the Apostells times. For they preached and lorded not. And now they lorde and preache not.

For they that be lordes wyll yll go to plough. It is no mete office for them. It is not semyng for their state. Thus came vp lordyng loyterers. Thus crept in vnprechinge prelates, and so haue they longe continued.

For howe many vnlearned prelates haue we now at this day? And no meruel. For if ye plough men yat now be were made lordes they woulde cleane gyue ouer ploughinge, they woulde leaue of[f] theyr labour and fall to lordyng outright, and let the plough stand. And then bothe ploughes not walkyng, nothyng shoulde be in the common weale but honger. For euer sence the Prelates were made Loordes and nobles, the ploughe standith, there is no worke done, the people sterue.

Thei hauke, thei hunt, thei card, they dyce, they pastyme in theyr prelacies with galaunte gentlemen, with theyr daunsinge minyons, and with theyr freshe companions, so that ploughinge is set a syde. And by the lordinge and loytryng, preachynge and ploughinge is cleane gone. B. iiii.

But nowe for the defaulte of unpreaching prelates me thinke I coulde g[u]esse what myght be sayed for excusynge of them: They are so troubeled wyth Lordelye lyuynge, they be so placed in palacies, couched in courtes, ruffelynge in theyr rentes, daunceynge in their dominions, burdened with ambassages, pamperynge of theyr pa[u]nches, like a monke that maketh his Jubilie, mounchynge in their maungers, and moylynge in their gay manoures and mansions, and so troubled wyth loyterynge in theyr Lordshyppes: that they canne not attende [to] it. They are otherwyse occupyed, somme in the kynges matters, some are ambassadoures, some of the pryuie counsell, some to furnyshe the Courte, some are Lordes of the Parliamente, some are presidentes, and some comptroleres of myntes. B vj.

And then LATIMER asks this question, "I would fayne knowe who comptrolleth the deuyll at home at his parishe, whyle he comptrolleth the mynte?"

Under ELIZABETH, a second race of Reformers succeeded to the Anglican Bishoprics, not such strong men individually as those who had died in the great conflict with Rome. National affairs were not very assured for the first ten years of the Queen's reign, until after the suppression of the Rebellion of the North in 1569. But from that time forward especially, the Bishops were fully engaged in their two-handed controversy: fighting the Roman Catholics on the one hand, and then being fought against (with the identical arguments with which they themselves had attacked the Papists) by the Puritans. But for their secular prerogatives, they would have had a hard time of it: these, however, were potent against logic.

The War between Prelate and Precisian assumed an acute phase in the Parliament time (8 May—29 June) of 1572, when the tract known as the *Admonition to the Parliament* appeared. This compilation was made by the Rev. JOHN FIELD [died Feb. 1588] and Rev. THOMAS WILCOCKS [died 1608]. For it they were imprisoned at Newgate, whence they addressed a Latin petition to Lord BURGHLEY on the 3 September, 1572 [now *Lansd. MS.* 15, *Art.* 73].

The good Archbishop PARKER thus testifies to the opposition of London at least, to the Hierarchy; in a letter to the same Lord, dated the 25th August of that year:—

> Sir, for all the deuises that we can make to the Contrarie, yet sum good fellowes still labor to printe owte the vaine *admonition to the parliament*. Since the first printing it hath been twise printed, and now with addicions wherof I send your honour one of them / we wrote lettres to the Maior and sum aldermen of London to laie in waite for the Charectes [*type*], printer, and Corrector, but I feare they deceaue vs, they are not willing to disclose this matter.
>
> *Lansd. MS.* 15, *fol.* 75.

y On the 11th June 1573, the Queen issued a Proclamation against the *Admonition* and all other books in its defence, calling them in: but the Bishop of LONDON writing from Fulham, to Lord BURGHLEY on the subsequent 2nd July, reported that—

> the whole Ceittie of London, where no dowt is greate plentie, hath not brought one to my handes. *Lansd. MS.* 17. *Art.* 37.

And nothing can show better what a refuge Puritanism found in the

metropolis, and the estimation there of the existing Bishops, than the following defiance prefixed to the *second* edition [in 1574] of the prohibited *Reply* of T.C. [the famous initials of THOMAS CARTWRIGHT] to the *Answer* of Dr. JOHN WHITGIFT to this *Admonition*:—

THE PRINTER TO THE READER.

SOme perhaps will maruel at the newe impression of thys boke / and so muche the more will they wonder / because they shall see / that with great confidence and boldnes / nothwythstanding our most gracious Princes late published proclamation / procured rather by the Byshops / then willingly sought for by her maiestie / whose mildnes is such / that she were easyer led to yelde to the proclamation of the highest / then drawne to proclaime any thing against hym / were it not for the subtil perswasions and wicked dealings of thys horned generation / as by their false doctrine and cruell practises is to be seene / and by the speciall motion of Gods spirite / and hys protection / it hath bene both attempted and ended.

But cease to muse good christian reader / whosoeuer thou art: and learne to know / that no lawes were they neuer so hard and seuere / can put out the force of Gods spirite in hys children / nor any cruelty / though it stretched it selfe so far / as to shed[d]ing of bloud, from which kynde of dealing the Bishops are not cleare (as the Prysons in London / the Gatehouse at Westminster, &c. can witnesse) the Lord forgeue them and vs our sinnes / can discharge the sayntes and seruauntes of the Lord / from going forwarde in that which is good.

For the profite therefore of the godly and their instruction / haue we hazarded our selues / and / as it were cast our selues into suche daungers and troubles as shalbe layed vpon vs if we come into ye hands of the persecuting Bishops. From the which pray the Lord if it be hys will to delyuer vs / if not / yet that it woulde please hym to geue vs both patience to beare what so euer he shall geue them power and lyberty to lay vpon vs / and constancy also to contynewe in hys truth and the profession thereof / vnto our lyues end. Farewell in the Lord and prayse God for thys worke. I.S.

[British Museum press mark. T. 2108/1.]

Thus early do we find that these imprisonments for matters of religious opinion did but strengthen the Puritan character and give it an unbending resistance to prelatical assumptions.

It appears from the following items in the Summary of the Warden's accounts of the Stationers' Company for 1573–74, that shortly after the foregoing was printed, a secret press was seized at Hampstead :—

Item laide owte the xxvjth of Auguste 1573 for my Jorney to Hempsteade with the pursevaunt	xix^{s}
Item to the Carter yat brought the presse	x^{s}
Item to ye Constable of Hempsteade for bringinge vp ye men	viij^{s} vj^{d}
Item for nailes to naile vpp the chestes	xij^{d}
Item to the pursevaunt for his paines	xxx^{s}

And in the next year's account—

Item Receyd of master Bynneman for wearing [*i.e. the use of*] the lettre [*type*] that came from Hempsted	xv^{s}

Transcript &c. I. 467–470. Ed. 1875.

Though we have no information connecting this press with any work obnoxious to the Bishops, the fact of its existence is very significant.

II.

HEN JOHN WHITGIFT—after some ten years' participation in this Controversy—was translated on the 14th August 1583 from the Bishopric of WORCESTER to the Primacy ; he knew perfectly well what he was about, what he meant to do, and how he meant to do it.

His policy was that of an ecclesiastical "Government of Combat." The plague of Puritanism was to be stamped out by physical force. All the as yet unpruned episcopal prerogatives (and we shall presently understand the nature of these); all the practical immunity from revision and control by the Government generally enjoyed by the Episcopal Censurers ; all the official authority of the prelates as members of the High Commission, and their personal influence as members of the Privy Council and of the Parliament, were waged in this quarrel against comparatively obscure men : who (whatever might be their latent faculty for the compulsion of the opinions of others) conducted their attack at this time on the essential Principle of Territorial or Temporal Bishops by appealing to the authority of the Scriptures, to mental conviction, and to a public disputation.

So far, therefore, the warfare was in its method the conflict of Force with Reason.

It does not seem that the Bishops did much to weaken the hands of their opponents by a stedfast, if moderate, reform of the acknowledged abuses of their system ; and so demonstrated that there was no inherent connection (as there is none) between episcopacy and tyranny or corruption : but they, for the most part, held on obstinately ; each succeeding race of them leaning more and more towards arbitrary power, whether royal or episcopal.

Yet there was some excuse for them, in the preposterous assumption of the Consistorial theory. However as private individuals the early Puritans might claim for themselves liberty of conscience and freedom of worship : in regard to their ecclesiastical system they were prepared to concede none of it to others.

This was therefore not a struggle for simple Toleration. It was to oust an organization which had come down through centuries ; and to replace it by another deduced by recent human logic from the Scriptures, and stamped as of Divine Authority by a new faith. The latter Platform was to drive out the former, and to impose itself *in its every jot and tittle* upon the minds and consciences of *all* men.

So far, the Episcopalians had not got so fully infatuated as to assert for their then Bishops an absolute Divine Right. Their title-deeds so to speak were somewhat shaky ; they could plead the example of many generations of the church, administrative fitness, and the national advantage, &c., of their Office.

The first Puritans were Presbyterians. Their system was simply "This or None." "The Almighty commands the approach of all men in this way or not at all." So that, as MILTON truly wrote, " Presbyter was PRIEST writ large."

Very fortunate was it for England that the Bishops held their own, and kept these jot and tittle men out of the power to compel (as by the will of GOD) all men to think as they did. They would have cramped the general Literature of the time much more than did the easy-going Bishops and their chaplains. Not a play would have been permitted to be represented, much more to have come to the press. For much of our brighter Literature, our Shakespearean Quartos and other similar plays, our Poetical Miscellanies, our *Arcadia*, our Madrigals, our Satires, and what not ; we are indebted to the Bishops : who sometimes, like Bishops HALL, CORBET and KING, contributed to it themselves.

As however the Bishops went politically more and more against the people, the necessity for Puritanism as a political party increased : and by the Long Parliament, the Episcopal Office with its long accumulated abuses was swept away. On the other hand, the intolerant and overreaching assumption of Presbyterian logic never could establish itself as a concrete compulsory force in England : and so, in the time of the Commonwealth, was born in our land, that precious gift from GOD ; of Moderation in the expression of one's own firm belief, and mutual Toleration of the sincere convictions of others in Religion.

III.

N [ANTONY GILBY'S] *A Pleasaunte Dialogue, betwene a Souldior of Barwicke* [*i.e.* Berwick-upon-Tweed] *and an English Chaplaine &c.*, 1581, we have, in the briefest possible form, the following programme of the Puritan objections; and therefore the scope of their immediately contemplated reforms, while the Anglican Church was as yet under the mild rule of Archbishop GRINDAL.

¶ *An hundred pointes of Poperie, yet remayning, which deforme the Englishe reformation.*

[151 points in all are specified.]

1 Irste, the Popishe names and offices. The Archebishop, or Primate of Englande, whose office standeth not so much in preaching, as in graunting of Licenses and Dispensations, according to the canon lawe, &c.

2 Secondlie, that he is called Lords grace, or, Gratious Lorde, contrarie to the commaundement of Christ, Luc. 22. 25.

3 Thirdlie, that the other Bishoppes, are called Lords, haue domination, and exercise authoritie ouer their Brethren, contrarie to the commaundement of our Sauiour Christ, Mat. 20. 25. 1. Pet. 5. vers. 4.

4 That they haue the honours of Countie Palatines, &c. contrarie to the example of the Apostles, and the Apostolike preachers, both of olde times, and of our times, in al reformed Churches.

5 The glorious Chauncelor, and his craftie courtes.

6 The proude Deane, and his office.

7 The Subdeane with his.

8 The Chaunter.

9 The Cannon.

10 The pettie Canon.

11 The Virgerer.
12 Rector Chori.
13 The Epistler, that doeth reade some patche of the Epistle.
14 The Gospellar, that doth read some peece of the Gospell.
15 The Querister.
16 The Quier or Cage, wherein they do separate them selues from the Congregation, and cause the worde not to be vnderstood of the people.
17 The singing Clearkes.
18 The Organiste.
19 The Organ Blower.
20 The Commissarie and his court.
21 The Summoner or Apparitor.
22 The Parson.
23 The Vicar.
24 The Chapleyne.
25 The idle Reader,
26 The Parish Priest.
27 The Prebendarie stipendaries, Pencioners that sell benefices.
28 The Beadmen at burialles, and afterwarde.
29 The hired Mourners, in their mourning garments, &c. So that here is nothing taken of Christe, nor his Apostles, neyther concerning names, nor office, but onlie of the Pope, that Romane Antichriste.

The Court of Faculties.

1 Licenses to marie in tymes forbidden, as in Lent.
2 In Aduent.
3 In Gange [*i.e. Rogation*] weeke.
4 In Imbring [*i.e. Ember*] dayes
5 Item, Licences for mariage to persons forbidden, which conteineth many points
6 Licenses to marie in places exempt.
7 Popish diuorcements licensed.
8 Dispensations to eate fleshe.
9 And those writinges haue this poynte of Poperie, *Sana conscientia*, as though they had authoritie ouer mennes consciences.

10 And all this for money, and suche a summe of money, as the poore men can not reach vnto.
11 Dispensations for boyes and doltes, to haue benefices.
12 Dispensation for non Residentes.
13 Dispensations with them, that doe not preache.
14 Dualities.
15 Trialities.
16 Tollerations.
17 Pluralities.
18 Tot quots.
19 A Lordshippe ouer the whole Cleargie, and all their Courtes.
20 Excommunication for fees not paide.
21 A sale of Absolutions for money.
22 Both the Phisitions spirituall and corporall, must be consulted withall, before you may haue license to eate flesh. Which high poynte of Diuinitie, was learned forth of Boston pardon.
23 Buying and selling of aduowsons.
24 The absolution of one man for another.
25 Full power to dispense with all causes, that the Bishoppe of Rome coulde dispense with, the Prince excepted, which comprehendeth manifolde poyntes of poysonfull Poperie.
26 Brieflie, the popishe enormities, and deformities of this Courte are innumerable. Wherefore we will labor no longer to account them.

The Commissarie his Court.

1 THis robbeth the Church of hir gouernement, vsed both in the olde and newe Testament.
2 Secondlie, this is contrarie to Christes commaundement, *Dic Ecclesiae*, and to the example and doctrine of Paule, to excommunicate alone.
3 Thirdlie, to absolue alone.
4 To sitt in iudgement alone.
5 To retract the sentence, that with the inuocation of the name of God he hath pronounced.
6 And to do this for money.

7 To excommunicate for money matters, and for trifles.
8 To absolue without manifest repentaunce.
9 To pole [*fleece*] somethinge of euerie parishe.
10 The poling of the Priestes.
11 The light punishement of adulterie.
12 The open, knowne, and continuall periurie, of the Churchwardens, committed in that Court.
13 The committing of penaunce, the Congregation not being satisfied.
14 Dispensations for the tymes of Mariage forbidden, and for not asking in the church.
15 The poling of the Proctors.
16 Of the Registers.
17 Of the Apparitors.
18 Of the Clearkes, for writinge of Billes.
19 Of the briberie in selling of bookes.
20 The Prieste muste be sworne to his Ordinarie.
21 The newe come Prieste muste paye tenne shillings, for the sight of his letters of order.
22 All sentences, for the moste parte, are to be giuen by popishe Canon lawes, whiche are intricate and infinite. So that he that will wade further herein, shall enter into a sea of poperie, and shall see the decaye of Religion and godlinesse, creepe in by this Courte, and that this is nothinge, but a packe of poperie, and a pudle of corruption.

Grosse pointes of poperie, cuident to all men.

1 OLde Monkes, and Friars, and olde popishe priestes, notorious idolatrers, openlie periured persones, haltinge hypocrites, manifest Apostates, are allowed in place of true and faithfull Pastors.
2 An other sorte of vagabounde ministers of no place.
3 Thirdlie, the running and ridinge to be made Priestes, and to prole for benefices.
4 The common Symonie of the Priestes many wayes.
5 The spoyle of benefices by Patrones.
6 Impropriations.

7 The Parson robbeth the Parish, and the poore Vicar muste serue the cure, and do the duetie.
8 The Parson may lie abroade withoute checke, and do no duetie to the parish. But hee that doeth the duetie, shall be bounde to the Popish attire, and what soeuer it pleaseth the ordinairie.
9 Ministers made, neither in election, vocation, nor approbation agreeable to Gods worde.
10 Boyes, papists, drunckardes, idiots, Idolles, as Zachariah calleth them, Zachar. 11.
11 Eleuenthlie, learned Ministers maye not preache, without newe licenses, although in the ordeyning of them, they are commaunded to preache the gospell.
12 Some may preache, and not minister the Sacramentes.
13 Deacons made to other purposes, than Scripture appoynteth.
14 They may minister Baptisme, but not the Communion: they may minister the Cuppe, not the bread.
15 The Images of the Trinitie, and many other monuments of superstition, generally in al church windowes.
16 The holie Sacramentes, mixed with mens traditions.
17 The wante of examination, before the receiuing of the Lordes Supper.
18 In manie places it is vsed like a Masse.
19 The wante of true Discipline for the whole congregation.
20 The popish apparaile of the Archebishop and Bishop, the blacke Chimere or sleeueless coate, put vppon the fine white rotchet.
21 The great wide sleeued gowne, commaunded to the Ministers, and the charge to weare those sleeues vpon the armes, be the weather neuer so hote.
22 The horned cappe.
23 The Tippet.
24 The Surplesse in litle churches.
25 The Cope in great churches.
26 The Lordlie power of the Bishoppes and their Princelie Parkes and Palaces.
27 Their riches gathered togeather by popishe meanes, Procurations, Synodalles. &c.
28 Their pompous trayne of proud idle swingebreeches, in the steede of Preachers and Schollers.

29 Their temporall offices.
30 Their wante of exercise in learning.
31 The wante of Discipline in the ministerie.
32 Furred hoodes in Sommer of their great Doctors.
33 Silken hoodes in their quiers, vpon a Surplesse.
34 The gray amise with cattes tayles.
35 The Organes playing away halfe of the psalmes.
36 To sweare by a booke in their common courtes.
37 To saue a theefe if he can read latin, because he is one of them, *Legit vt Clericus.*
38 The common swearing by our Ladie, not reproued.
39 And the obseruing of the Ladies daies, and Ladies feastes, which are confirmations to such othes and swearers.
40 Faires and markets vpon the Sabaoth dayes. Lewd playes on the same daies.
41 Putting of[f] the caps at the name Iesus.
42 Crossing the corps with linnen cloathes, and such like.
43 Ringing of handbels in many places.
44 Crossing of themselues in their prayers.
45 Ringing of Bells in the place of preaching, when the Priestes take possession of their benefices.
46 Ringing of Curfewe vppon hallowe euens.
47 Ringing three peales at the burialls.
48 The visitacions of the Bishoppes and others, onely for money.
49 Dispensations with the rich men for all things: but not with poore menne that haue no money.
50 Offerings at burialles, and the offering of the woman at hir churching.

The church seruice, and chiefe shewe of holines.

1 IIrst, the only reading in the place of feding, by the applying of the word to the conscience, is rather an Englishe poperie, than a true christian ministerie. Christ commaundeth his to feede. So doeth Peter exhorte his fellowe ministers. Paule commaundeth to chuse such and none other.

2 The whole forme of the church seruice is borowed from the Papistes, peeced and patched without reason or order of edification.
3 In the common prayers the priest prayeth for the Queene, and the people answeare of another matter.
4 They pray also that all men may be saued without exception: and that al trauailing by sea and by land, may be preserued, Turkes and traytors not excepted. &c.
5 They praye to be deliuered from lightening and tempest, when there is no daunger of it. &c.
6 All these church prayers and Sacraments, are tyed to a popishe Surplesse.
7 Their Saints dayes, and their prescript seruice.
8 Their wakes and idolatrous bankettes
9 Their Lent still obserued in the same time and manner.
10 The Imbring dayes.
11 The hallowe Euens.
12 The Fridayes and Saterdayes.
13 All their fishe fastes.
14 The crossing in Baptisme.
15 That the godfathers and godmothers shall promise, that the childe doeth beleeue, and doth forsake the Deuill.
16 The necessitie of Baptisme.
17 The Lords Supper in time of necessitie, to be ministred to one alone.
18 The priuate Baptisme.
19 The Ring in mariage.
20 The Churching of women with this Psalme, that the Sunne nor Moone shal not burne them.
21 The confirmation of children, by laying on of the handes of the Bishop, to certifie them of Gods fauour, by this signe of mans inuention.
22 The making of the Ministers, by laying on of the handes, and saying, Take the holy Ghost.
23 The ministration in a Wafer cake.
24 The kneeling before the Cake.

IV.

WE HAVE difficulty in realizing the extent to which the prisons of London were at the service of the Archbishop of CANTERBURY and the Bishop of LONDON. There is however for our purpose a precious contemporary Puritan fragment (*Harl.* 6848, *MS. fol.* 7) which bears on it the date *Julij.* 18° *Anno Domini* 1588, which was the date on which it was *seized.* It is the beginning of a copy of many Puritan papers in the usual scrivener's handwriting, and was evidently intended for private circulation among the "bretheren" who, at that time, were totally denied the public use in England of a printing press. From this Collection we take Three papers.

The First is—

The true Copye of a lamentable petition deliuered to ye Queenes Maiestye the 13. of March 1588.

THE LORD of heaven and earthe that hathe so wonderfully hitherto preserued and established your Maiesty in your earthly kingdome, that you should nowaduaunce His spirituall kingdome befor[e] all the nations of the earthe, that GOD whom you haue suche Cause to love honor and serve, enclyne your Royall harte (which hathe euer bin pytifully affected euen towardes her greatest enemyes) to some christian consideration and speedy redresse of the outragious wronges and most extreame iniuryes wherewith sundrye of your most faythfull and true harted subiectes haue bin a longe tyme and are at this present especially oppressed in all places by the BB: of this lande, but principally by the BB. of CANTERBURY and LONDON for the true profession and practize of the Ghospell of our Lord JESUS CHRISTE as we are alwayes ready to approue befor[e] GOD and men if we might be but produced to any Christian and equall tryall. Which Ghospell thoughe your Maiesty haue most graciously published to the eyes and eares of all men throughe all places of your kingdome, inhibitinge none but incytinge all to the faythfull obedience and syncere practize therof; yet these professed enemyes of all

Righteousnes, will not only not enter them selves into the kingdome of GOD, but forbydde others that woulde, with deadly hatred and extreame rage persecuting all those that vppon confidence towardes GOD and Care of their owne salvation, in humble and peaceable maner seeke for reformation for these Antichristian burthens and Popishe abhominations, which the BBs: for the maintenance of their proud estate with a stronge hand imposed vpon the Consciences of men contrary to the expresse rule and truthe of the ghospell of CHRIST. Dayly spoilinge, vesing, molestinge, hurtinge, pursuynge, Imprisoninge yea barringe and locking them vp close prisoners in the most vn[w]holsome and vyle prysones, and their deteyninge them, without bringinge them to their answeres, vntyll the LORD by death put an ende to their myseries. Some thèy haue haled [*hauled*] ffrom theire honeste labours in their trades, and Caste them lo[a]den handes and feete with boultes and fetters of yron in to Cold and noysome prysons Close prisoners. Some they haue Cast into the "Little Ease:" some they haue put into the "Myll" Causinge them to be beaten with Cudgels in their prysones: others in the nighte tyme they haue apprehended and drawen out of their houses yea out of their beddes ffrom their wiefes shuttinge them vpp Close prysoners, separatinge them most vngodlye ffrom their wiefes, Children, famylies, Callinges, trades, laboures to their vtter vndoinge, and the affamishemente of their poore wiefes and Children.

All this barbarous havocke they make without regard of age, sexe, estate, or Degree as may appeare by the lamentable estate of those which remayne, and by the Deathes of others by them murthered in the prisons, whose bloud cryeth out ffrom vnder the aulter: some of vs haue bin kepte prysoners these 19. monethes for hearinge the scripture read vnto vs in one of our houses vppon a Lordes day morninge in all godly and peaceable maner, neyther haue we bin all this tyme once produced to our answere, or had either errour or Cryme obiected against vs. others of vs, after they haue ben kepte Close prisoners half a yeare without any Cause or pretence of Cause as yet knowen vnles for refusinge to take an othe ministred by them *ex officio*, they haue at lenght[h] brought forthe to Newgate sessions, ther[e] endyted, Condemned and imprisoned vppon *the statute of Recusancye* made

for the Papistes the auncient enemyes of Christ, your royall person, and the Realme notwithstanding that we refuse not any parte of the word of GOD, neither to be truly enstructed in the same, most hartely detesting all Romish trumperyes and all heresies whatsoeuer, being alwayes readye, and still most humble Desiringe to Render an accounte of that faythe yat is in vs, doinge or leaving vndone nothinge ffor which we haue not expresse warrante in the worde of GOD. yet haue we snòt (lyinge in prysons vppon execution of these great sommes vnto your Maiesty) enioyed yat benefite of the liberty of ye house [*prison*] which the law alloweth, and they afforde to the most Daungerous and pestilant papistes in that behalf, but haue ben agayne shutte vpp Close prysoners these 13 weekes to the great empeachment of our healthe, and hazard of our lives, and so styll remaynethe no Cause as yet shewed therof.

Neither yet here hathe their malyce ceassed, but Duringe this tyme of our Close imprisonment, wher[e] we might neither speake nor wryte for our selves, haue they in their pulpyts published and denounced agaynst vs raylinge and most falsly slaundering vs euen in your Maiestyes presence, accusinge vs of many Daungerous erroneous, and heynous Crymes wherof yet vnto our faces they neuer Durst produce anye, seeking her[e]by to bring vs into your Maiestyes indignation, and to Drawe out your sword of Iustice (which is geven for the Defence of innocentes) agaynst Innocentes and so bringe that guyltles blood, which they haue shed, vppon your Maiesty and the whole land, by Drawing you into their quar[r]ell which they haue against Christe Iesus and all that truly professe his name as may more appeare when their Dealinges with the faythfull servauntes of GOD shalbe more looked into: But we hope that GOD which hath hitherto kept your Maiesty will also Deliuer you ffrom those evell men and their evell wayes, yea and put into your Royall harte to revoke all their Cruell Decrees agaynst the Sayntes of GOD, in whose name we most humblye beseche your Maiesty to Cause vs and our accusers to be brought forthe either before your highnes or some of your honorable and trusty Counsell [*Privy Councillors*], before whom yf we be founde to haue Committed any thinge either worthy of bondes or this handelinge, we desyer no mercye but to the example and terrour of all others to

receyve Condigne punishment of our Desertes: but if we be found innocent then to be freed from the Cruelty of these men, and to be Receyued into your Royall and gracious protection, for which Cause GOD hathe even placed you in this highe throne of Dignitye.

In the mean while, and whyles we lyve we shall not Ceasse to solicitte the LORD our GOD ffor the Continuance and encrease of all His blessinges vppon you in this lyef, and the full fruicion of them in the worlde to Come, ther[e] without empe[a]chment of any endinges, to raygne with Him for euer in His heavenly kyngdome. Amen. Amen. /

The date of the Second paper that we extract from this Collection, would appear from the 19 months' committal of TOMSON and COLLIER to be in May or June 1588.

THE names of sundry faythfull christians Imprisoned by the ArchBishop of CANTERBURY and the Bishop of LONDON for the Ghospell of our Lord JESUS CHRIST.

In the ffleete

1 JOHN GREENWOOD — 1. having bin imprysoned by the B: of LONDON 30. weeks in the Clynke for readinge a portion of scripture on a Lordes Daye in a ffryndes house, removed by *habeas corpus* [to the Fleet].

2 HENRY BARROW — 2. BARROWE vppon the like having bin close prysoner at the ArchBishops Commaundement 24 weeks for not taking an othe ministered vnto him *ex officio*. / wher[e viz. *at the Fleet prison*] they lye vppon an execution of £260 [=£2,000 *of present money*] a peyce.

In the Clynke — 3 HENRY TOMSON, GEORGE COLLIER. — Committed by the B. of LONDON for hearinge a portion of scripture in a ffryndes house read by the said GREENWOOD on a Lordes Daye, and haue there Remayned prisoners. 19. monethes without being brought to their answere.

In the Counter in the P[o]ultry.

4 Jerome Studley Committed ffor not swearinge before the B: of London, and hath remayned prysoner. 15. monethes having a wife and 6. Children and nothinge but his labours in his Callinge to susteyne them.

5 christopher Roper committed close prisoner by the bb. of London.

6 Roger Jackson taken out of his bed ffrom his wyef in the night and Committed Close prysoner. /

7 Edward Boyes prysoner in Brydewell 19 monethes now Close prysoner in the Clynke. /

8 John Chaun[d]ler having a wyef and. 8. Children Died ffor hearinge *vt supra*. /

In the Counter in Wood street.,

9 Robert Gryffin bayled being very sicke. /

10 George Smalles by B: of London, for hearing *vt supra* and hath Remayned vnbrought fforthe.

11 George Bryghte Committed from Newgate sessions by ye Recorder of London, ffor Commendinge a faythfull Christian which was ther[e] Indited, this George Dyed ther[e]. / [*i.e. in Wood Street Counter.*]

12 Thomas Legate Committed by [the Bishop of] London. out of his bed in the nyght tyme and now Close prysoner.

13 Clarke Committed by ye Constable ffor sainge they did evell to enforce Master Legate without a warrant. /

[In Newgate.]

14. 15. 16 Meynard, Roo, Barrowe aged widdowes ffirst Committed by [the Bishop of] London ffor hearing *vt supra*, / after endighted and. 2. of them Dyed of the Infection of the prysons. /

17. Roger Jackson Dyed in Newgate. /

18 Nicholas Crane a man of 66. yeares havinge a wyef and Chyldren ffirst imprysoned by [the Bishop of] London ffor hearing *vt supra*, after endighted and dyed of the Infection of the pryson in Newgate. /

19 Alyce Chaundler wyddowe of the aboue named John Chaundler bayled by Master [? Richard] Yonge. /

20 JOHN FFRANCES committed by [the Archbishop of] CANTERBURY:/ prysoner 10 monethes having a wyef and Children.

21 ROBERT BADKINGE Committed by [the Archbishop of] CANTERBURY bayled by Master YONGE.

22 WILLIAM DENFORD vppon the statute [*for Recusancy*] Close prysoner. /

23 QUYNTIN SMYTHE taken from his labours, Cast into the Dungeon with Irons, his bible taken ffrom him by [Doctor Richard] STANHOOP [*STANHOPE*],

These ten last are in Newgate. /

In Brydewell. /

24 JOHN PURDYE cast into "Little ease," the "myll" and beaten with Codgels in that pryson, for refusinge to heare the Preyst of that house. Committed a prisoner by [the Archbishop of] CANTERBURY.

25 WILLIAM BROMELL committed by [the Archbishop of] Canterbury, prysoner 12 monethes.

and so forthe. /

The Third paper that we take from this manuscript collection is the Third of the Four examinations extant of HENRY BARROW. It occurred at a time when R. WALDEGRAVE was printing the forerunning tract of this Controversy, UDALL's Dialogue of *DIOTREPHES*, which forms the Number 5 of this *English Scholar's Library*. It bears the following date of seizure.

Julij. 18°. *Anno Domini.* 1588.

Master BARROWE his examination at the Courte by the Counsayle./

VPpon the 18th Daye of this present moneth [March 1588], I HENRYE BARROWE close prisoner in the Fleete, was sent for in all post haste by one RAGLANDE a gentleman of my Lord Chancellours to his Lordship[s] Chamber at the Courte of Whitehall, wher being arrived I founde in a withdrawinge chamber 12 of the bretheren amongest a great number of other Attendauntes, with whom I Could not haue any one worde, but after that

RAGLAND had signified my Comminge I was forthwith sent for into the Chamber wher[e] sate at a borde the Arch Bishop [WHITGIFT]: in his *pontificalibus* the Lord Chauncellour [Sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON] the Lord Treasurour [Lord BURGHLEY], the Lord BUCKHURST, and [JOHN AYLMER] the Bishop of LONDON also in his *pontificalibus* and at a lower end of a Chamber stood Doctor SOME and RICHARD YONGE &c with others.

Being kneeled downe at th[e]end of the table the Lord Tresorer [BURGHLEY] began and asked me my name, which when I had told him, he asked me if I had not ben sometymes of the Courte, I answered that I had sometymes frequented the Courte. / he sayd he remembered me not. /

Lord Treasorer sayd, Why are you in pryson?

BARROW. / I am now in pryson my Lord vppon the statute made for Recusantes.

Lord Treasurer. Why, will you not Come to the Churche?

BARROW. My whole desyer is to Come to the churche of GOD. /

Lord Treasurer. Thou arte a fantasticall fellowe, I perceive, but why not to our churches?

BARROW. The causes are manye and great my Lord: and it were too longe, to shew them in particular, but breyflye my Lord: I cannot come to your churches because all the wicked and prophane of the land are receyued in to the bodye of your churches, agayne you haue a false and Antichristian mynisterye, set ouer your churches, neither worship you GOD aright, but after an Idolatrous and superstitious maner, and your church is not gouerned by the worde of GOD but by the Romish Courtes.

Lord Tresorer. Indeed I perceive you haue a delighte to be an author of this new religion.

Lord Chancellor. he sayde he neuer hearde suche stuffe in all his lyef.

[BARROW.] As I was aboute to shew that neither I was the Author of this Religion, and that it was not new as they

supposed, the Bishop of LONDON interrupted me, and asked me wherin the worship was Idolatrous?

Lord Tresorer. he asked me the same question.

BARROW. Ther[e is] nothinge els[e] in that booke of your common prayer.

Being demaunded some particulars, I shewed that the Saynctes days, eaves, fastes are Idoll fastes.

[*Bishop of* LONDON.] Why is it not lawfull to keep a memoriall of Sayntes in the Churche?

BARROW. Not, after your manner. It is Idolatrye

[*Bishop of*] LONDON. How proue you that?

BARROW. by the first Commaundmente.

[*Bishop of*] LONDON. Why, that is, thou shalt haue none other gods but one, what of it?

BARROW. The worde is, thou shalt haue none other Gods before my face [*Geneva version*], we are ther[e] forbidden to give any parte of GODs worshipp to any creature.

[*Bishop of* LONDON.] Why? neither Doe we.

BARROW. Yes: you celebrate a daye, and sanctifye and Call them by their names, you make a fast and devise a worshippe for it./

Lord Tresorer. May we not Call the daye by their name, is not that in our liberty?

BARROW. No, my Lord.

Lord Tresorer. How prove you that?

BARROW. In the beginning of the booke it is writen, that GOD himself gaue names and hathe named all the dayes as 1, 2, 3, 4 &c.

Lord Tresorer. Why then we may not call them Sonday, Monday &c.

BARROW. We are otherwise taught in the booke of GOD to call them.

Lord Tresorer. Why, thou thy self callest it the Lords Daye.

BARROW. And so also the HOLY GHOST calleth it.

[*Bishop of*] LONDON. Truly we haue nothinge in our Saynctes dayes, but it is out of Scripture.

BARROW. In that you say not true, for I can fynde no suche dayes ther[e].

[*Bishop of*] LONDON. We find the[ir] historyes and dayes.

BARROW. Not Sainctes dayes and festiuall dayes.

Lord BUCKHURST. The Lord BUCKHURST then sayd I was a proud spirite./

[*Lord Treasurer.*] The Lord Tresurer sayd I had a whote brayne, and taking in his hande a booke of Common prayer which lay on the bo[a]rde, re[a]d certayne Collectes of the saynctes, and shewed that th[e] epistles and Ghospells were parte of the scriptures, and asked what I Could mislike ther[e]in.

Barrow. I misliked all, for we ought not [to] vse the scriptures or prayer so.

[*Lord Treasurer.*] May we not make commemoration of the Saynctes lyves in the Churche?

Barrow. Not after your maner to geue peculiar dayes or eaves a worship.

Lord Tresorer. But what is here Idolatrous?

Barrow. All, for we ought not to vse the scriptures so.

[*Bishop of*] London. What? not in commemoration of ye saynctes?

Barrow. As I have sayd not after your maner.

Lord Treasorer. But what is euell here?

Barrow. All (my Lord) for by abusing the scriptures we may make euen that an Idoll. / the Circumstances make evell thinges otherwise of themselues being good / as in the masse booke (from whence this stuffe is fetched) ther[e] are sundry good Collectes and good places of scripture, which the[ir] supersticious abuses make abhominable and euell /. Likewise Coniurers make many good prayers, which the circumstances also make euell.

Lord Buckhurst. Here the Lord Buckhurste sayd I was out of mye wyttes.

Barrow. No my Lord I spake the words of sobernes and truthe, as I Could make playne if I might be suffered. /

Lord Tresorer. Here we praye that our lyues may be suche as theires were, void of Couetousnes.

Barrow. Soe ought we to doe, and to haue noe parte of the scriptures without fruyte, and to followe and flye that which we fynde praysed or Discommended in them yet ought we not to vse the scripture in this maneur to Dayly, Tymes, &c. neither to be thus [re]strayned and stented from prayers as to be tyed to this forme of wordes, place, and maner, kneele, stand &c.

Lord [? Buckhurst.] This fellowe Delightethe to heare him self speake

The Lord Chauncellour also spake somewhat at that tyme, which I Cannot Call to remembraunce yet,/

Then the Arch Bishop [WHITGIFT] alsoe spake many thinges agaynst me of small effecte which I haue also forgotten, only this I remember he sayd I was a sower of errours, and that ther[e]fore he committed me.

BARROW. Indeed you committed me half a yeare close prisoner at the Gate House and I neuer vntyll now vnderstood the cause why, neither yet know I what errors they be, shew them I pray you.

Lord BUCKHURST. The Lord BUCKHURST also sayd agayne I was of a presumptious spyrite.

BARROW. My Lord all spirites must be tryed by the worde of GOD: But if I erre my Lord yt were meete I should be shewed wherin.

Lord Chauncellor. There must be strayter lawes made for suche fellowes.

BARROW. Would to GOD there were my Lord, our Jorneyes should be then the shorter.

Lord Treasorer. you Complaine to vs of Iniustice, wherin haue you wronge?

BARROW. My Lord in that we are thus imprisoned without dew tryall?

Lord Treasorer. Why? you sayd you were Condemned vppon the statute./

BARROW. vniustly my Lord, that statute was not made for vs.

Lord Tresorer. There must be strayter lawes made for you.

BARROW. My Lord speake more comfortablye, we haue sorrowes inoughe.

Lord Tresorer. Indeed thou lookest as thoughe thou haddest a tro[u]bled conscience.

BARROW. No, I prayse GOD: but it is a woofull thinge that our prynces sworde shoulde be drawen out against hei faythfull subiectes.

Lord Tresorer. the Lord Tresorer answered that the Queenes sworde was not as yet drawen agaynste vs.

BARROW. Then in a worde or two I Complayned of my myserye of the Close and lingeringe Imprisonnemente which we suffered.

Bishop of LONDON. The Bishop of LONDON answered that

sundrye had bin with vs, as Doctor Some, Gravyate and others, but we mocked them that come vnto vs.

Barrow. That is not true: we mocke noe creature, neyther doe I knowe or haue euer seen at my remembraunce that Graviat whom you speake of: but miserable Phisitions are they all. for Master Some he was with mee indeed, but neuer would enter disputation. he sayd he came not therfor[e], but in questioning maner to knowe somewhat more perfectlye.

Some was then by the ArchBishop called and demaunded whether he had Conference with me or noe. Then shewinge howthat at our laste conference before Sir Henry Goodyeard, ther[e] arose a question between us whether a prynce may make a positive lawe *de Rebus medijs* of thinges indifferente, I denienge it he asked whether shee might make a statute for reforminge th[e] excesse in apparell? I graunted that she might, he then sayde that I held it was a Doctrine of Devylles to forbyd meats by a positive lawe, and shewed him then that the Prynces lawe doth not bynd the Consciences, and that ther was a difference betwixt thinges civill and Conscientiall. so much to this effecte.

Then Master Yonge came vncalled and accused me of arrogant and irreverant speches had against my Lordes grace [of Canterbury] at my first conference with some in my Chamber. soe they were dismissed.

then I bese[e]ched the Lordes to graunt a publique conference that it might appeare to all men what we holde and wherin we erred.

[*Arch*]*Bishop of* C[anterbury]. The ArchBishop sayd in great Choller we should haue no publicke conference, we had published inoughe alreadye, and therefor[e] I commit you Close prysoner.

Barrow. But Contrary to Lawe.

Lord Tresurer. The Lord Tresurour sayd that it be vppon such occasions done by lawe and asked whether I had any learning or no./

Bishops. Canterbury and London with one Consent sayd I had no learninge./

Barrow. The LORD knoweth I ame ignorant, I haue no lerning to boast of, but this I know that you are voyd of all true learninge and good lives./

Lord Buckhurst. See the spirite of this man./

BARROW. Then requested I Conference agayne and yat in writinge, which was agayne by CANTERBURY very princely denyed: he sayd he had matters to Call me befor[e] him as an heretique:

BARROW. That shall you neuer doe you knowe my former answere well, erre I maye, heretique by the grace of God wyll I neuer be.

Lord BUCKHURST. That is well sayde./

Lord Tresorer. The Lord Tresorer then takinge vpp some of SOAMES his abstracted questions which lay among the Bishops evidences against me, read that I helde it vnlawful for the Parliament to make a lawe that the Ministers should live by tithes, or the people paye them and demaunded of me whether I hold tithes lawfull.

BARROW. My Lord they are abrogate and vnlawfull.

Lord Tresorer. Why, thou wouldest haue the mynisters to live by somewhat: whereof should they live?

BARROW. *Ex pura elemosina*, of Cleane almesdeedes as CHRIST and his Apostles did and in his Testament ordayned.

Lord Tresorer. But how if the people will not give?

BARROW. Suche people are not the people of GOD.

Lord Tresorer. But what shall the Ministers teache in the meanwhiles?

BARROW. Not stand a mynister nor take the goodes of the prophane./

Lord Treasorer. Wher[e] canst thou show in the scriptures that the Ministers now, ought not to lyue by Tithes?

BARROW. I tooke the Bible and turned to these places. *Heb.* 12. *Gal.* 6. 6. in th[e] one that tithes were abrogat[ed] in th[e] other that another provision is made for them.

[*Bishop of*] LONDON. Bagan to Cauell at the worde pure or cleane almes.

[*Archbishop of*] CANTERBURY. he began also to Cauell at the place to the Hebrewes, saing yat th[e]authors entent was to prove an abnegacion of the preysthoode.

BARROW. If that be Chaunged then must ther[e] of necessitye be a chaunge of the lawe: and you cannot denye but tithes were a parte of that Law, alleaginge *Numb.* 18./

Lord Tresorer. What wouldest thou haue him to haue all my goodes?/

BARROW. No my Lord but I would have you to withhold

none of your goodes ffrom helping him. neyther riche nor poore are exem[p]ted from this dutye.

ffurther I shewed, that if the mynister had thinges necessary to this lyef as food and rayment he ought to hold himself Contente, neither ought the Church to geve him more.

Then had we some talke concerninge the word (preyst).

Lord Tresorer. The Lord Tresorer sayd that the ministers now are not to be Called preystes.

Barrow. If they receive Tithes they be Preystes: Moreouer they be Called Preystes in the Law.

[*Bishop of*] London. Why? what is the word *Præsbiter* I pray you.

Barrow. An elder.

[*Bishop of*] London. What in age onlye?

Barrow. No: Timothye was a yonge man.

Lord [? *Chauncellor*]. *Presbiter* is Latine for a preyst.

Barrow. It is no latyne word but deryued and signifiethe the same that the Greeke worde dothe, which is an elder.

Lord Chauncellor. Why? what make you a preyst?

Barrow. Him that dothe offer sacrifice: for soe is it writen euery wher[e] in the lawe.

Lord Chauncellor. As we were thus reasoning the Lord Chauncellor asked me if I knew not these. 2. men, poynting to Canterbury and London.

Barrow. Yes (my Lord) I haue Cause to knowe them.

Lord Chauncellor. But what? is not thys the Bishop of London?

Barrow. I know him for no Bishop my Lord.

Lord Chauncellor. What is he then?

Barrow. His name is Elmar [*or* Aylmer] my Lord.

The LORDE pardon my fault, that I layd him not open for a wolf, a bloudy persecuter, and an *Apostata.*/ but by that tyme the wardens man was plucking me vp./

Lord Chauncellor. And what is this man? pointing to Canterbury.

Barrow. The LORD gaue me the spiryte of boldnes, so that I sayd. he is a Monster, a miserable Compounde I know not what to Call him, he is neither ecclesticall nor Cyvell, euen the second beast, that is spoken of in the Revelacion.

Lord Tresorer. wher[e] is that place? shew it./

BARROW. So I turned to the place, 13. *cap.* a[n]d re[a]d the verse. 11. then I turned [to] 2 *Thessal.* 2. but the beast arose for anger and gnashed his teethe, and sayd will ye suffer him my Lord?

So I was plucked vp from my knees by the wardens man, and Carryed awaye.

As I was departinge, I desyred the Lord Tresorer that I might haue the benefite of the ayre, but had no answere, and prayed the LORD to blesse their Honours, so I was led by an other waye then I Came in, that I might not see the bretheren nor they me./

This is th[e]effecte, and (as my evell memory Could beare away) the very wordes that were vsed to me and by me in that place. The LORD pardon myne vnworthines and vnsanctified harte and mouth that can bringe no glorye to the LORDE, or benefyt to His Church, but reproche to the one, and affliction to th[e]other. But the LORD knowethe how to deliuer his godly out of temptation, and to reserue the vniust to the day of Judgemente vnder punyshemente.

The Lord Tresorer admonished me and told me that I tooke the LORDes name often in vayne. I haue forgotten vppon what occasion I spake hit, but I beseche the LORD I may not forget his good admonition, but may set a more Carefull watche befor[e] my lyppes, for no Doubt I am greatly guyltye that waye, and neuer vse His holy name with that reverence I ought.

Note in this examination, Lord BURGHLEY's keenness of mind. Himself during his whole life a Puritan, he makes these innovators give chapter and verse for every statement they hazard. He must have chuckled when he asked BARROW to prove out of Scripture that WHITGIFT was "the Man of Sin," "the Son of Perdition." Doubtless that story must have gone the round of the Court at the time.

If such an examination seems unseasonable at a time when Spain was preparing the Armada for England, which if successful would have swept Prelate and Puritan away together: the unseasonableness is chargeable to WHITGIFT, who had kept BARROW in prison since November 1586.

Are not these three Papers a sufficient proof of the almost uncontrolled authority of the Bishops of that day over the liberty, and even the lives of the Protestant laity in their dioceses?

V.

One of the most remarkable things about the *Martin Marprelate* tracts is that they ever get into print at all. There was not a printer in England that would have dared to have avowed the production of them. The acquisition of a hand printing-press was a matter of immense difficulty, if not altogether impossible by any one outside the Stationers' Company. No recognized printing was allowed outside the Metropolis, with the exception of one press at each of the universities. So that the oversight of the Metropolitan presses by the Primate and the Bishop of London virtually created them the Censors of the entire English Literature of their time.

The legal origin of the censorship of the press by *Protestant* Bishops, was the following 51st Article of Queen Elizabeth's *Injunctions* of 1559.

51. *Item* because there is a great abuse in the printers of bokes, which for couetousnes chiefly regard not what they print, so thei may haue gaine, whereby arriseth great dysorder by publicatyon of vnfrutefull, vayne and infamous bokes and papers : The Quenes maiestie straytly chargethe and commaundeth, that no manner of person shall print any manner of boke or paper, of what sort, nature, or in what language soeuer it be, excepte the same be first licenced by her maiestie by expresse wordes in writynge or by .vi. of her priuy counsel, or be perused and licensed by the archbysshops of Cantorbury and Yorke, the bishop of London, the chauncelours of both vnyuersities, the byshop beyng Ordinary, and the Archdeacon also of the place where any suche shalbe printed, or by two of them, wherof the Ordinary of the place to be alwaies one. And that the names of such as shal allowe the same, to be added in th[e] ende of euery such worke, for a testymonye of the allowaunce therof. [*This was however rarely done before the time of the Commonwealth.*]

And bycause many pampheletes, playes and balletes, be often times printed, wherein regard wold be had, that nothinge therin should be either heretical, sedicious, or vnsemely for Christian eares: Her maiestie likewise com-

maundeth, that no manner of person, shall enterprise to print any such, except the same be to him lycenced by suche her maiesties commyssioners, or.iii. of them, as be appoynted in the citye of London to here, and determine diuers causes ecclesiasticall, tending to the execution of certayne statutes made the last parliament for vnyformitye of order in religion. And yf any shall sell or vtter, any maner of bokes or papers, beynge not licensed as is abouesaid: That the same party shalbe punyshed by order of the sayde commyssyoners, as to the qualitie of the faulte shalbe thought mete.

In September 1576 the Stationers' Company instituted a weekly search of all the printing-houses in London, which continued for many years, fresh rosters of searchers being fixed from time to time. In May 1583 there were only twenty-three printers in London possessing in all fifty-three hand printing-presses (*Transcript &c.* i. 248. Ed. 1875). So that what with the daily observation of his own workmen and apprentices, the keen weekly search of his competitors in business, the censorship of the episcopal chaplains, &c., a printer and all his doings was perfectly well known; even to the kinds of type he used, the numbers he printed to an impression, and so forth.

On the 23rd of June, 1586, in the third year of his primacy, WHITGIFT and the rest of the High Commission passed the Star Chamber Decree on Printing; which was the greatest enactment of that time and long after, affecting the production of books. The fourth section of this decree runs thus.

Item that no person or persons shall ymprynt or cawse to be ymprynted or suffer by any meanes to his knowledge his presse, letters [*type*], or other Instrumentes to be occupyed in printinge of any booke, work, coppye, matter, or thinge whatsoeuer, Except the same book, woork, coppye, matter, or any other thinge, hath been heeretofore allowed, or hereafter shall be allowed before the ymprintinge thereof, accordinge to th[e] order appoynted by the Queenes maiesties *Iniunctyons*, And been first seen and pervsed by the Archbishop of CANTERBURY and Bishop of LONDON for the tyme beinge or any one of them (The Queenes maiesties Prynter for somme speciall service by her maiestie, or by somme of her highnes pryvie Councell therevnto appoynted, and such as are or shalbe pryviledged to prynte the bookes of the *Common Lawe* of this Realme, for such of the same bookes as shalbe

allowed of by the Twoo Chief Justices, and Chief Baron for the tyme beinge, or any twoo of them onely accepted) Nor shall ymprynt or cause to be ymprynted any book, work or coppie against the fourme and meaninge of any Restraynt, or ordonnaunce conteyned or to be conteyned in any statute or lawes of this Realme, or in anye Iniunctyon made, or sett foorthe by her maiestie, or her highnes pryvye Councell, or against the true intent and meaninge of any Letters patentes, Commissions or prohibicions vnder the great seale of England, or contrarye to any allowed ordynaunce sett Downe for the good governaunce of the Company of Staconers within the Cyttie of London, vppon payne to haue all such presses, letters and instrumentes as in or about the pryntinge of any such bookes or copyes shalbe employed or vsed, to be defaced and made vnserviceable for ymprintinge for euer. And vppon payne also that euery offendour and offendours contrarye to this present Artycle or ordynaunce shalbe dishabled (after any such offence) to vse or exercise or take benefytt by vsinge or exercisinge of the art or feat of ymprintinge / And shall moreover sustayne ymprysonment Six moneths without Bayle or mayneyprise /

Transcript &c. ii. 810. Ed. 1875.

This Clause is important as it made all concerned in the production of the *Martin Marprelate* tracts liable to punishment and loss.

It is therefore quite evident that the two metropolitan Prelates by a mere verbal intimation or the writing of a letter (without any legal process at all) could, and—as we have seen in No. 5 of this Series, in the case of Robert Waldegrave's printing of *Diotrephes*—readily did exercise a potent censorship on all printed matter, seizing and confiscating anything they thought obnoxious to their order.

Sir John Lambe, the Dean of Arches, and Laud's right-hand man for repressing the liberty of the press, in 1635 made the following notes of the results of his inquiries into the history of licensing books.

30 *Elizabeth*[æ], 30 Junij 1588. The Archbishop [Whitgift] gave power to Doctor Cosin. Doctor Stallard. Doctor wood. master hartwell, Master Gravett. Master Crowley. master Cotton and master hutchinson or any one of them to license bookes to be printe :

Or any 2. of those following master Judson master Trippe, master Cole and master Dickens :

from 19° *Elizabeth*[æ] [1576-77] till the Starchamber Decree [23rd of June 1586] 28° *Elizabeth*[æ]: many [books] weere licensed by ye master and Wardens [*of the Stationers' Company*,] some few by ye master Alone, and some by the Archbishop [of CANTERBURY] and more by the Bishop of LONDON / The like was in ye former parte of ye Quene ELIZABETH's time.

master KINGSTON [*who became free of the Stationers on 25th June* 1597] ye now master [*of the Company, i.e. in* 1636] Sayth yat before ye Decree [of 23rd of June 1586] the masters and wardens licensed all, And that when they had any Diuinity booke of muche importance they would take ye advise of some 2 or 3 ministers of this towne [*i.e. London.*]

State Papers, Dom. Charles I., vol. 339. *Art.* 87.

One further testimony on this point. In *A petition directed to her most excellent Maiestie*, secretly printed about 1593, it is stated—

The followers of Reformation lacke libertie to aunswere in their owne cause. If they speake, they be silenced; if they write, they wante *PRINTERS*. They be shut vp in close prisons, their handes (as it were) bounde, and then buffeted.—*p.* 26.

Of this *petition* there is a copy in the British Museum, press mark 108. b. 2.

From all which it is clear that in respect to open and avowed printing, the Bishops were perfect masters of the situation: and not a little of the interest of this attack on their Office centres on the history of this wandering secret press.

An Introductory Sketch to the MARTIN MARPRELATE Controversy.

SECTION II.

THE ORIGIN OF THIS CONTROVERSY.

1587. PAGES

I. 1 Mar. Quotations from PENRY's *Treatise. Containing the Æquity of An Humble Supplication &c.* Oxford: suppressed by the High Commission &c. 55–67

1590.

II. 7 Mar. Quotations from his *Appellation to the High Court of Parliament &c.* [Rochelle], describing the suppression of the *Treatise* and his subsequent first imprisonment 68–74

The Origin of this Controversy.

SO FAR as it can be traced to any precise words or acts, the *MARTIN MARPRELATE Controversy* arose out of the following printed words which were published on or about the 1st March, 1587. Speaking on behalf of the Welsh nation, JOHN PENRY urges—

For what will our children that rise after vs and their children say, when they shal be brought vp in grosse superstition, but that it was not Queene Elizabethes will, that we their Parentes should haue that true religion she professed, made knowen vnto vs. Will not the enemies of Gods truth with vncleane mouthes auouch that shee had little regarde vnto true or false religion anie further than it belonged vnto hir profite? I would some of them did not slaunderously cast abroade amongst our people, that she careth not whether the gospel be preached or not preached. If she did wee also shoulde bee most sure to enioy it after twenty eight yeares and vpward of most prosperous raigne. These thinges derogating from her Maiesties honor in a most villa[i]nous sort, must be withstoode thorough hir selfe and this whole assembly, by making prouision for vs betimes of the food of our soules. Because I see this most notably detracteth from hir, I cannot in duety but repell and gainsay this slander, and with as loud a voice as ynck and paper can sound, affirme and publish that she would haue the truth made knowen vnto al her people, and wish al of them to be prophets. Which thing I trust in God shall bee manifested vnto the woorld euen at this Parliament, wherein Wales shal be al[l]otted vnto Iesus Christ for his inheritance. And good reason why it should be so, because thereupon standeth the

mainteinance of hir credit. Of al the men in the world therfore she may be least beholding to them that will not deal earnestly in our behalfe [*i.e. the bishops &c.*]. And we the inhabitantes of Wales may thinke that very straunge that one suite, tending generally to the benefit of vs al, will not bee graunted vnto vs in twenty eight yeares, and that vnder hir Maiestie, whose good will towards vs is no lesse we are assured then to the rest of hir subiects. If wee doubted heereof, behold at this time, opportunity is offered to take away all suspicion.

These words are a fair specimen of PENRY's cunning pen. For he is herein asserting that which he is ostensibly repudiating. The words seem innocent enough to us; yet had they never been written, it is probable that *MARTIN MARPRELATE* would never have come into existence.

This page occupies the fortieth page of PENRY's first known work, the title and colophon of which are as follows.

A Treatise containing the AEquity of An Humble Supplication which is to be exhibited vnto hir gracious Maiesty and this high Court of Parliament in the behalfe of the Countrey of Wales, that some order may be taken for the preaching of the Gospell among those people.

Wherein also is set downe as much of the estate of our people as without offence could be made known, to the end that our case (if it please God) may be pitied by them who are not of this assembly, and so they also may bee driuen to labour on our behalfe.

AT OXFORD,

Printed by IOSEPH BARNES, and are to be sold in Pauls Church-yard [in London] at the signe of the Tygers head.

1587.

The tract consists of but 64 pages, and its COLOPHON runs thus :—

To the reader.

Some rumor of the speedy dissolution of the Parliament enforced me from the 32 *Pag*[*e*] *or there abouts (so much being already vnder the presse) to cut off more of the booke by two parts than is now in the whole. The neerer I came to the ende, the more hast I made. I regarded not herein*

Amphora cœpit
Institui, currente rota cur vrceus exit ?

The ouersight I hope hath not been very great: if any, I hartilie craue pardon. How tedious and vngainful it was for me to dismember the whole and sow together the torne parts, let other men iudge. . . .

Nothing can better place us at the Stand-point of the Martinists, than the following lengthy quotations from this suppressed and now extraordinarily scarce book. It is impossible not to admire the skill, fervour and studied moderation with which PENRY makes out his case, thereby securing for posterity by his many graphic touches, such a clear insight into the strange social condition of Wales at this time. The average condition of the country districts of England was probably somewhat better; but there were doubtless remoter places in this country of which the following was as true as of any part of the Principality.

Our case now is to bee especiallie pittied in respect of the inner man. For howe many souls doe daily starue and perish among us for want of knowledge? And how many are like still to tread the same path? It grieueth me at the h[e]art to consider how hel[l] is enlarged to receaue us.

And here the Lord knoweth and our soueraigne with this most honourable assembly shal know that I doe not complaine without cause. For our estate is such, that we haue not one in some score of our parishes, that hath a sauing knowledge. Thousands there be of our people that know Iesus Christ to be neither God nor man, king, priest nor prophet: ô desolate and forlorne condition! yea almost that neuer heard of him. If anie by the great goodnesse of God be called, this came to passe not by the diligence of their pastours which are either dumme or greedy dogs that delight in sleeping, as saith the Prophet [*this famous phrase at this time is found in* Isaiah lvi. 10] (a few honest men excepted) but either extraordinarily through reading, or by meanes of their resort and abode in some corner of the Church of England where the gospel is preached. And long may it be preached there, to the glory of God, the felicity of our soueraign, and the euerlasting good of that whole nobility and people, whose kindnes towards strangers [*i.e. the Welsh!*], the Lord wil not forget.

And our God remember Queen Elizabeth herein, and wipe not out hir kindnes shewed toward thy people, shew mercy vnto hir in that daie, good Lorde, and forget hir not in

this life also, seing by means of fostering thy Gospell in hir land, some of vs a people not regarded, haue known the remission of our sinnes, euen of our great sinnes. Let this neuer be forgotten good Lord.

I am caried I knowe not whither from my purposed intent. These latter sort are some few gentlemen, or such like. The rest of our people are either such as neuer think of anie religion true or false, plainly meere Atheists or stark blinded with superstition. The lat[t]er are of 2 sorts.

The first crue is of obstinate idolaters that would fain be again in execrable Rome, and so hold for good diuinity whatsoeuer hath bin hatched in that sacrilegious nest. But these may doe what they wil with vs: for neither ciuil magistrat nor Bishop wil controul them. They may be, euen of the Parliament house, least that congregation should be without some Achan, that might giue the Lord iust occasion, to execrate his whole hoast.

Hence flow our swarmes of southsaiers, and enchanters, such as will not stick openly, to professe that they walke, on Tuesdaies, and Thursdaies at nights, with the fairies, of whom they brag themselues to haue their knowledge. These sonnes of Belial, who shuld die the death, Leuit. 20. 6. haue stroken such an astonishing reuerence of the fairies into the h[e]arts of our silly people, that they dare not name them, without honor. We cal them *bendith â mamme* [in modern Welsh,[1] *bendith y mamau*, "the mother's blessing"], that is, such as haue deserued their mothers blessing. Now our people, wil neuer vtter, *bendith â mamme*, but they will saie, *bendith â mamme â dhân*, [in modern Welsh, *bendith y mamau i ddyn*, "the mother's blessing to man"], that is, "their mothers blessing" (which they account the greatest felicity that any creature can be capeable of) "light vpon them," as though they were not to be named without reuerence. Hence proceed open defending of Purgatory and the Real presence, praying vnto images &c. with other infinit[e] monsters [*monstrosities*].

The other sort is of good simple soules, that would full gladly learne the way vnto saluation, and spend their h[e]art[s] blood, for the safety of their godly Prince, in whom they do claim more interest then the rest of hir subiects whosoeuer.

[1] For this and the following transliterations into modern Welsh, translations into English etc., between the brackets [ ], we are indebted to that distinguished Welsh scholar, divine and journalist, the Rev. SAMUEL ROBERTS, of Conway, North Wales.

And this is almost the only happines they haue. These poore soules, because the Idol pastor [*reading minister*] can teach them nothing, entering more deeply with themselues into the consideration of things, find by the small light of religion we enioy through the meanes of hir Maiesty, and by the instinct of nature, that there is a Diuine Essence who must be carefully and religiously serued and praied vnto for al blessinges that would be obtained. Which things they see vnperfourmed publikely, therefore priuat[e]ly they assay what they can doe.

But wofull estate, they being not taught out of the worde of God, what he is, that must be serued, and how he requireth this to be doone, inuent vnto themselues, both their God, and the maner of his seruice. Concerning saluation they either think, that the Lorde is bound to saue all men, because they are his creatures, or that al shal be saued at the lat[t]er day, at the intreaty of the virgin Mary, who shal desire her sonne, after iudgement giuen, to saue as many of the damned as may bee couered vnder her mantill [*mantle*]: this being graunted al the damned souls shalbe there shrouded and so saued from hel[l] fiar. This is the cause why our people make but a mocke of sinne.

They thinke the soule only shal goe to heauen and not the body also, whence it commeth that they say, "they care not what becommeth of their bodies, so their soules may be saued."

They ascribe sauadge cruelty vnto God the father, because he punished mans sinne so seuerely, euen in his son Christ; the Lord Iesus they commend. *Nû waeth genûf dhim am y tad y gwr craûlon hinnû onûd cydymmaith da ûwr mab* [in modern Welsh, *Ni waeth genyf ddim am y tad, y gwr creulawn hwnw, ond cydymaith da yw'r mab*]: "I care not" saith one "for the father, that cruel man, but the sonne is a good fellowe." Durst wee once conceiue these base cogitations of our Prince, I know it would not be tolerated. And I hope this religious and wise assembly will procure that the Lord may haue some more reuerence at our hands. Because the poore creatures can hear nothing at the mouth of their minister, how their sinnes may be hidden and their iniquities couered, it is a common saying euen among those who care not for Romish Antichrist, that it was a good worlde then when a man might haue a pardon for his sins in such and such a place for one 4d.

They see no felicity where mere ignorance of saluation is. A false perswasion thereof they thinke better than none at all. Man must haue religion, [either] true or false.

Our people learn one of another most blasphemous praiers. This they doe so much the rather, because in them the commend them selues, families, &c. vnto the tuition of some saint whom they think most fauourable vnto them and best able to grant their petitions. My h[e]art bleedeth to think how these villa[i]nies with other vngodly songs are learned of good painfull soules with greedines. I know masters of families that teach these vnto their housholds. If they meete with any who can write and read, they wil demand of him whether he can teach them euer a good praier against such a disease in man or beast. Vngodly welsh bookes [*i.e. either manuscripts, or the productions of him whom* MARTIN MARPRELATE *at p. 22 of his* Epitome *styles as the* "knave Thackwell the printer / which printed popishe and trayterous welshe bokes in wales / "] are fraught with these Idolatries.

If conscience would not keep me from vttering an vntruth before my soueraigne monarch, yet fear of punishment should containe me. But this I protest before Iesus Christ who shall iudge all euen according vnto their woordes, and in the presence of al the world, that the onely staffe and stay of al priuat religion among our people (the 2 sorts of men before named, I exempt) are latine praiers, praying vnto Saints, superstitious obseruations, with vngodlie Welsh songs and books. If these things were not, meare Atheisme would ouer-grow vs.

Surely the reading ministery hath not so much as wrought in the harts of anie almost, the perswasion of one true God. It were fōlly to goe about to heale the disease and let the cause remaine. Concerning that which is reade, there is no man but thinketh very reuerently thereof. And we praise the Lorde that we haue so much publikely by meanes of her highnes, whereas in the daies of blindnes we had nothing but professed idolatry.

Take but a view of our liues, and you shal see also what effect reading hath brought to passe. There be many sinnes essential almost vnto our nation. Profaning the name of God in common talk is prodigious. 40. affirmations or negations will bring thirty oathes out of a great many. Some shieres of South Wales haue gotten them an ignominious

name by this sin. I dare write that which I durst not vtter in words. They are called *gwûr cig Dûw* [in modern Welsh, *gwyr cig Duw*, "men of God's flesh," a strange designation! They had probably a habit of swearing "by God's flesh"]

Looke [at] the punishment of swearing Deut. 28. 58, Leuit. 24. 15, 16. This is the flieng book *Z*ach. 5. 3. Look [at] the Law of concealing an oath, Leu. 5. 1. and you shall finde that the Parliament shoulde haue great regard to damme the springes of this sinne by the word preached.

What a hand we haue had in adultery and fornication, the great number of illegitimate and base born among vs doe testify. I would our Princes and Leuit[e]s [*i.e. Bishops and Clergy*] had not beene chiefe in this trespasse. The punishment hereof in the Bishops court is derided of our people. For what is it to them to pay a litle money, or to run through the Church in a white sheete? They haue made rimes and songs of this vulgar penance. Neither [the] iustice of peace nor minister wil see the execution of the lawes prouided in this case. Though they did, seeing the Lords ordinance [*i.e. preaching*] is not obserued, it would not preuaile.

The seat of iudgement in our common courts is turned into wormwoode. A man cannot haue his right in a yeare or two, though his euidence be vnaunswerable. They haue gotten many shifts, and when al failes, one wil stand viz. excommunication. The plaintife without al right maie be excommunicated in the Bishops court, and so not absolued in a whole yeare. Al which time hee is no person fit to prosecute his right in the common law.

It is irksome to think how hardly a poor man can keep any thing from theeues of great countenaunce. Though he seeth his own sheep or other cattel feed within two miles of him in some mens pastures, he dareth not aske [for] them. Quaffing and surfeting is too too common. Al are become Ismaels. Euery mans hand against them, and theirs against all other. Church men and all will haue their right by the sword, for by the word [*i.e. of GOD*] they neuer seek it.

These thinges I doe not set downe to disgrace my deare countrimen. I beare them another h[e]art. My purpose is to shew that all the good politique lawes in the woorld cannot wash awaie these our stains. The nitre that washeth purely,

the word of the Lord must doe it. A conscience must be wrought in our people, else they wil neuer leaue their idolatry, swearing, adulterie, and theeuery. They that know the country know how litle hold the straightest and seuerest laws in the world wil take on a great many. If it be the wil of the Parliament therfore [that] we shal be bettered, let the word be preached among vs. We haue preaching, How often? Quarterly. It is not so. For to that one parish where there is one ordinary quarter sermon, we haue twenty that haue none. The number of fit preaching ministers in Wales can easily proue the truth hereof. Wee paie tithes alwaies, and therefore we should haue preaching alway ... *pp.* 44–51.

Preaching is graunted conuenient, but so as reading wil serue the turne. I maruel the face of mortall man wil be so brasen as to affirm this, the immortal word of god loudly gainsaying it, 1 Cor. 1. 21., Rom. 1. 16. Iam. 1. 21. I wil not light a candle before the sun [*i.e. in arguing on this point*].

Though preaching be granted necessary, and the word reade no meanes to saluation: yet there bee three difficulties that inferre an impossibility to haue the same in Wales.

[**1**] The woorde in welsh neither [**a.**] must nor [**b.**] can bee gotten.

[**a.**] Must not, because al should be brought to speak English. Of the condition the trueth were made knowen vnto them, I would it were brought to passe. And shal we be in ignorance vntil wee all learne English? This is not hir Maiesties will wee are assured. Raise vp preaching euen in welsh, and the vniformity of the language [*i.e. the spread of English*] wil bee sooner attained.

[**b.**] But why can we not haue preaching in our owne toung? Because the minister is not able to vtter his mind in welsh. He maie. For wee haue as many words as in any vulgar toung whatsoeuer, and we might borrow from the latine &c. The straunge words would become familiar thorough custom. They that defend the contrary are slow bellies and not wel minded to doe their countrie any good. A good excuse for the soul quelling non-resident.

Admit we cannot haue welsh preachers, yet let vs not bee without English where it is vnderstood. There is neuer a market towne in Wales where English is not as rife as welsh.

From Cheapstow to Westchester [*Chester*] (the whole compasse of our land) on the Sea side, they all vnderstand English. Where Munmoth and Radnock shiers border vpon the Marches, they all speake English. In Penbrok shier [there is] no great store of Welsh. Consider Anglisey *Mamgymrû*, *Caernarûon*, and see if all these people must dwel vpon mount Gerizzin and be subiect to the curse, because they vnderstand not the English toung.

[**2.**] The second difficulty is want of sufficient number of ministers.

The aunswere hereunto may be diuerse.

[**c.**] First the haruest is the Lords, therfore if he be sought vnto, labourers shal be sent Matt. 9. 38. And extraordinary blessinges may be expected, if his ordinance shal take place and mans [be] remoued. Might it please hir Maiestie and the Parliament to take this course, the Lorde would raise those sauiours Haba[kkuk]. 21. that are vnlikely in the sight of man.

[**d.**] Further the 2 Vniuersities are able to send out at this time three hundred for the work of the ministery able men euery way with a little practise. We neede not haue all welsh preachers, therefore these also might serue our turnes, and it would be very hard if a dosen of them were not of our own people. Thus many being now prouided for, would be such an incoragement vnto students, that at the yeares end twise as many would be ready to consecrat[e] themselues to this holy labour.

What an encouragement also would this be for men to send their Sonnes to the Vniuersities, whereas they coulde no sooner send them thither, than Colledges woulde haue places void for them? Now alas our Vniuersities decay in number of students. They that are already placed, either dally with their studies, or [do] not apply them at all to diuinity, because they see no end therof. Some bound by reason of their fellowships to enter into the ministery, wil make any shift to be dispenced with, nay they wil giue ouer their places rather than vndergoe this calling. The reasons hereof bee two

First the idoll priesthoode hath made the most glorious function vnder the sun [*i.e. the ministry and preaching*], most contemptible.

Secondly they see the minister hath no assurance of that liuing whereunto he is inducted. Euery trifling matter is now made [*a ground for*] depriuation.

[e.] If it shall please hir highnes and the Parliament to decree that euerie godly learned minister may haue as good assurance of his liuing for terme of his own life, as any subiect in the land hath of his fee simple, vnlesse he be found such an offender as his ministery wil be a reproch vnto the Gospel, I doubt not but the ministery would be soone furnished with able men.

[f.] A number of the idle drones now in our ministerie would become fit for that work in one year, if preaching were but here and there scattered among vs, and they weekely driuen to exercise. Where it may bee seene that their vndoing is not intended, but their good.

[g.] There be many worthy men in the Church of England, that nowe exercise not their publicke ministery, these would be prouided for among vs. I hope they wil not bee vnwilling to come and gaine soules vnto Iesus Christ.

[h.] Priuate men that neuer were of Vniuersitie haue well profited in diuinity. These no doubt would proue more vpright in heart, as the Leuit[e]s in the like distresse 2. Chr. 29. 34. than many of our learned men.

[i.] For the preaching in Welsh, order might be taken that our [*Welsh*] brethren which are of the ministery in England should be sent home. Their flockes might be otherwise prouided for; and they depart with consent, because the necessitie of the Church requireth it.

[j.] One of the 2. Vniuersities [*? Cambridge*] since that ioyfull 17. day of Nouember 1558, hath sent into the common wealth, 3,400 Graduat[e]s: all this number of graduat[e]s, a good course being taken, might haue bin found in the ministery of her maiesties own planting, [*i.e. in England and Wales*] and not so few as two thousand over-plus might haue bin imploied in other functions. Four hundred of these would haue beene since that time well placed in Wales, whereas at this day we haue not 12. in all our country that doe discharge their duety in any good sort. The proofe hereof I offer to stand vnto against all gain-saiers. I hope this wil be considered of. If not, wee may be eight and twenty years more without the word preached.

[**3.**] The last difficulty is the want of maintenance for our ministers.

[**k.**] This is but a mere shift to bereaue the Lord of his honour, and vs of our salvation. . . . *pp.* 51–55.

They whose h[e]arts the Lord hath touched, would thresh to get their liuing, rather than the people should want preaching. Our gentlemen and people, if they knew the good that insueth preaching, would be soone brought to contribute. They should bee constrained thereunto. Saluation were not bought too dear with the very flesh of our armes.

[**l.**] The honor we publickely yeeld in Wales vnto our god the word preached being not among vs, if the lord be said to alow off (which were blasphemy to conceiue) he can be proued to be a meer Idoll. If to dislike, where is that sonne of Adam that wil presume to offer him that which hee regardeth as the killing of a man, vntil he may be prouided for in a better sort? Her Maiesty and this honourable assembly know that the seruice of the eternall is not to be dispensed withall, and therefore out of hand will see the erecting thereof, which shall neuer be don[e] as long as any excuse wil be admitted to hinder the worde preached.

[**m.**] If Impropriations and Nonresidencies were not tolerated, a teaching minister in Wales might liue wel by the Church. Is it not intolerable that some of our Gentle-men should haue 6. impropriate liuings?

Our earnest and humble petition vnto her Maiesty and this high court of Parliament is, that it would please them to decree, that the tenth part of euery impropriat[e] liuing in Wales may be bestowed to the maintenance of a teaching minister: which is so reasonable, that I hope it wil be granted. And that the minister finding her Maiesty sufficient security, may be hir farmer in euery impropriat[e] liuing, that belongeth vnto hir highnes within Wales.

We humbly intreat, that the same order may be taken with al impropriations in our countrey whatsoeuer.

[**n.**] Non-residences haue cut the throte of our Church. Some that neuer preached haue three Church liuinges. Many of our liuinges are possessed by students of either of the Vniuersities: who neuer come amongst vs, vnles it be to fleece. This I hope wil be tolerated no longer: seeing it is the very desolation of the Church, the vndoing of the common

wealth, and a demonstratiue token, that the Lorde will watch ouer vs to euill, and not to good. Our petition is that none whosoeuer may possesse aboue one liuing, and that al may be constrained to bee resident on their charges.

These reasonable petitions concerning Non-residencies and impropriations being graunted, a great many liuinges will bee ready to entertaine a learned pastor.

Thus I hope al the difficulties that seemed to hinder preaching vnto vs are taken away. . . . *pp.* 55–57.

One more quotation, and we must pass on from this tract. The printing of the first Welsh *New Testament*, which is not divided into verses, was finished on the 7th October, 1567. It had therefore been nearly twenty years in the Principality. When PENRY wrote this, the translation of the *Old Testament* was far advanced; so that the printing afresh, of the entire Welsh *Bible* was completed in 1588.

But I maruel what will be said to bee the cause why we haue not had publicke reading in welsh to any purpose as yet. The old testament we haue not in our tongue, therefore the 1. lesson is read in English vnto our people in many places that vnderstand not one word of it. This reading is taken to be the blasphemous masse. *û maû yr offairiad ar y fferen* [in modern Welsh, *y mae yr offeiriad gydar offeren*, "the priest is at the mass"] (say they, when the first lesson is read), that is, the priest is at masse.

One man seene in the original [*i.e. the Welsh language*] by the blessing of God would bee able to translate the whole in 2. yeares: more handes would make more speede. The small [*minor*] prophets in welsh might be read vnto vs vntil we obtaine the whole, which shalbe ready for the Press whensoeuer it shall please hir Maiesty and the Parliament to call for them [*i.e.* PENRY *had already translated the Minor Prophets, or knew of their having been translated by some other person*].

Our humble petition is that the whole woorke may be set vpon incontinently, and that some order may be taken for the charge of the impression. The dialect that euery [Welsh] sheire hath almost proper vnto it selfe, should not hinder this woorke. For if preaching were in euery Parish, the people would be stirred vp to read the word priuat[e]ly in

their houses, and so become acquainted with the phrase. Our ministers though neuer so ignorant, yet all vnderstanding English, might easily remedy this, by conferring the Welsh with the English translations, and so where they vnderstood not their owne toung, the English might direct them, and they their hearers.

But they are far from taking this small pains. I would some of them in 20. years had learned to reade welsh at the first sight. They haue made the word of God of that base and contemptible account with many of our people, that they will aske to what end many thinges euen in the new testament it selfe are set downe. Because they want preaching, some points of the high mysteries of saluation seeme vnto them to bee but vulgar and common, thinges not beseeming the wisedome of the great God. Bring some place out of Peter, Paul &c., and their answere wil be, *Beth a wodhon ni pûn eû bod hwûyn dwedûd gwir eû paidio?* [in modern Welsh, *Beth a wyddom ni pa un ai eu bod hwy yn dywedyd y gwir ai peidio?* "How do we know whether they speak the truth or not?"] What know we whether they say tru[e] or no? Is not this our case lamentable?

The "faculties" and "dispensations" of our Non-residentes, whose absence do imprint these skars of spiritual misery vnto vs, wil not deliuer vs from death. No they wil not shi[e]ld vs from the temporal punishments that we now sustaine (which is our second misery) for want of their diligence. We feel the Lords hand many waies against vs at this time in regard of the scarcitie of all thinges, and especially of victuals, and [a] great number of poor.

Euery man among vs was either wont to sow as much corne as serued his familie al the year, or to make asmuch of his sheep and other cattle as might buy the same. The vnseasonable haruest 1585 yealded very little Corne. Therefore many were able to sowe nothing the last year, because they had not bread corne, much lesse seed. The winter [of] 1585 destroied al their cattle wel near, so that now the very sinowe of their mainteinance is gone. Many that liued well and thriftily, are faine to giue ouer both house and home, and to go a begging. They were driuen the last haruest to al the shifts in the world. As to rub the standing corne, being not halfe ripe, to make some bread thereof. . . *pp.* 57–59.

II.

N a later work, written when the *MARTIN MARPRELATE* Controversy was drawing to an end, PENRY gives us the following account of the trouble that the publication of the foregoing *Treatise* brought on him. It is entitled, probably in imitation of the *Appellation* of JOHN KNOX,

Th'Appellation of IOHN PENRI, vnto the Highe court of Parliament, from the bad and injurious dealing of th'Archb. of Canterb. and other his colleagues of the high commission: Wherin the complainant, humbly submitting himselfe and his cause vnto the determination of this honorable assembly: craueth nothing els, but either release from trouble and persecution, or just tryall. Anno Dom. 1589. [*i.e.* 1590] Mar. 7.

At pp. 3–5 of this tract (which was stated, in 1595, by MATTHEW SUTCLIFFE to have been printed for PENRY by ROBERT WALDEGRAVE at Rochelle, see following *pp.* 179–181), we find—

And to the ende I may truely acquaint you of the parliament with my troubles, and the true causes thereof, you are to vnderstand, that the beginning of these mens hatred towards me, did arise from the goodwill I beare vnto the glory of my God and the good of his church, and that the continuance thereof, is for the same cause. For vntill such time, as the Lorde vouchsafed to vse me (most vnworthie, I acknowledge from the bottome of my heart) as an instrument to motion the parliament, holden by prorogation [*or rather by adjournment from 15th Feb. to 23rd March* 1587], in the 29. yere of her Majesties raigne, in the cause of Gods truth, I was a man altogether vnknowne vnto th'Archb. or any other of the high commission, by whome I am now persecuted. My suite then vnto the parliament was, that the gospell of Christ might in a sauing measure, be made knowen and published amongst the inhabitants of wales my deare and natiue countrimen. The equitie of this petition, I manifested in a published treatise [*i.e. A Treatise Containing the AEquity of an humble Supplication &c.*] allowed to be printed by publike authority

[*evidently at Oxford*]. The supplication, together with the printed treatise, were preferred by a worshipfull gentleman of my countrie, being himself a member of the howse, [*i.e. of Commons: where Master* EDWARD *Downley, Donlee or Doulee represented the town of Carmarthen.* WILLIS, *Noti. Parli.* I. 107, *and* 116. *Ed.* 1750] who also shewed the equitie of the petition, and in effect auouched the truth of that which in the treatise was set downe. Master Edward Donlee.

The suit I was perswaded, would haue beene verie plausible in a christian state, and the parliament shewed no disliking thereof, though they sinned in the carelesse respect they had therevnto. Th'Archb. and his associates were contrarie minded, they thought the enterprise to be intollerable. And yet was there no alteration of the established gouernment of Bishops at that time sought for. The dislike of the petition they did not conceal, and therfore presently dispatched their warrants [*before the Parliament rose on 23rd March.*] to call in the printed bookes, and to enquire for the author. The books in nomber about 500. togither with my selfe, were fastened vpon by the wardens of the Stacioners [Company], Master Bishop and [Master] Denham [*who were Wardens between 10th July* 1586 *and 10th July* 1587. *See Transcript &c.* ii. 3. *Ed.* 1875.] accompanied with Cole the Pursiuaunt, wherevpon being carried before the high commissioners, I was for enterprising the former action, charged by th'Archb. owne mouth, not onely to be a factious slaunderer of her Majesties gouernment: but also to haue published flat treason and heresie in my saide treatise. I was threat[e]ned very bloodily, and reuiled vpon in a most vnchristian sort, with earnest protestation, that they woondered how I durst sollicite the parliament in that petition. . . .

. . . . . VVell, mine offence in presuming to speake in the cause of God, oppugned by my betters, was accounted so haynous, as in close prison I must be kept 12. daies, at the keepers vttermost perill. Before my departure from the commission, vnderstanding their intent to commit me, I demanded the particuler cause why I was so hardlie dealt with. Answere was made, that they would examine me againe and then I should know. After a moneths imprisonment I was deliuered without anie examination, or anye mention of the crimes of heresie and treason wherewith I

had bene charged. And so vnto this daie, I remaine ignorant of anie expressed cause wherefore, they either tooke away my books, or debarred me of my libertie, and readie by the grace of God, both to conuince the high commission of most injurious dealing in the premises, and to cleare my selfe of anie crime they can lay to my charge, whensoeuer, before you of this honorable assembly, or any other equall judgement seat they dare be tried with me.

Since the time of my release, I sawe my selfe bounde in conscience, not to giue ouer my former purpose, in seeking the good of my countrymen, by the rooting out of ignorance and blindnes from among them. And as it pleased the lord to increase this my care, so haue mine aduersaries augmented their rage and fury towards me, and especially to the cause that I maintaine.—*pp.* 3–6.

Although we wish to confine this Introductory Sketch to testimony outside the Controversy itself: yet we cannot resist the graphic account which *MARTIN MARPRELATE* in his *Epistle* gives of this interview with the High Commission.

Now may it please you to examine my worthines your brother Martin / and see whether I saide not true in the storie of Gyles Wiggington / where I haue set down / yat the preaching of the word is an heresie which his grace doth mortally abhorre and persecute / I can prooue it without doubt. And first that he persecuteth the preaching of the worde (whether it be an heresie or not) both in the preacher and the hearer: the articles of subscription / the silencing of so many learned and worthy preachers do euidently shew / and if you doubt hereof / let my worshipp vnderstand thereof / and in my next treatize / I shal proue the matter to be cleare with a witnes / and I hope to your smal commendations / that will deny such a cleare point. On the other side / that he accounteth preaching to be an heresie / I am now to insist on the proofe of that poynt. But first you must know / that he did not account simple preaching to be an heresie / but to holde that preaching is the onely ordinary meanes to saluation / this he accounteth as an heresie / this he mortally condemned. The case thus stoode / Iohn Penrie the welsheman (I thinke his grace and my brother London / would be ,better acquainted with him and they could tell howe) about the beginning of Lent / 1587 / [*i.e.* 20th February 1588]. offered a

supplication and a booke to the Parliament / entreating that some order might be taken / for calling his countrie vnto the knowledge of God. For his bolde attempt / he was called before his grace with others of the high commission / as Thomas of Winchester / Iohn London / &c. After that his grace had eased his stomacke in calling him boy / knave / varlet / slanderer / libeller / lewde boy / lewd slaunderer / &c. (this is true / for I haue seene the notes of their conference / at the length a poynt of his booke began to be examined) where nonresidents are thought intollerable. Here the Lorde of good London asked M. Penrie / what he could say against that kinde of cattell / aunswere was made that they were odious in the sight of God and man / because as much as in them lie / they bereaue the people ouer whom they thrust themselues / of the ordinarie meanes of saluation / which was the word preached. Iohn London demaunded whether preaching was the onely meanes to saluation? Penrie answered / that it was the onely ordinarie meanes / although the Lorde was not so tyed vnto it / but that hee could extraordinarily vse other meanes. That preaching was the onely ordinary meanes / he confirmed it by those places of scripture / Rom. 10. 14. 1. Cor. 1. 21. Ephes. 1. 13 This point being a long time canuassed / at the length his worship of Winchester rose up / and mildly after his maner / brast forth into these words. I assure you my Lords / it is an execrable heresie: An heresie (quoth Iohn Penry) I thanke God that euer I knewe that heresie: It is such an heresie / that I will by the grace of God / sooner leaue my life then I will leaue it. What sir / (quoth the Archb.) I tell thee it is an heresie / and thou shalt recant it as an heresie? Naye (quoth Penrie) neuer so long as I liue godwilling. I will leaue this storie for shame / I am weary to hear your grace so absurd. What say you to this geare my masters of the confocation house? we shal haue shortly a good religion in England among the bishops? if Paul be sayd of them to write an heresie.—*pp.* 27–28. *Ed.* 1880.

A reverence for law was as much an essential of the Puritan character as a passion for a reasonable freedom and an unbendable resistance to arbitrary power. The Bishops were for ever mixing up spiritual and temporal prerogatives, and trying to get people to believe they were inseparable, and that opposition to their Office was treason to the State. The following exposure of their practices in PENRY's *Appellation* will

help us to understand the intensity of the hatred against them in the minds of a large section of the truest and most loyal Englishmen of that day. Over and over again in these researches has the conviction forced itself upon us that the origin of modern Dissent in England is to be found solely in this unrighteous and outrageous abuse of powers secured originally by Papal bishops, which having come down unimpaired to their Protestant successors were by them turned against their Puritan fellow-citizens whether in the clergy or in the laity, for the maintenance of their worldly state and corrupt power. Early Nonconformity expressed but a natural resentment and protest against tyrannical ecclesiastics and their whole crew of officials. But to return to PENRY's *Appellation.*

What hath the high commission to doe, with men suspected of treason? Is the place at Lambeth now become the palor [*bar*], where traitors should be arraigned? The Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Winchester, Doctor Cosin, &c. now become judges in those causes? Whether they incurr not the danger of lawe, by entering into such matters, as are not within the compasse of their commission, you of this honorable assembly arè best able to judge. The trueth is that the Archbishop, and his associates, when I was examined before them in the 29. yeare of her maiesties raigne, enforced me to cleare my selfe vpon mine oath, of the treason, which they gaue out to be contained in the 40. page of my booke at that time written vnto the parliament. Tollerate this course, and what parloure or chamber may there be so priuate, wherein the Archbishop and his assistants wil not arraigne their seditious traitors as the faulsly account them.—*pp.* 39–40.

The injury which at that time they offered vnto the liberties of this honourable court, (to commit their tiranny to me wards) had not bene so intollerable vnless they, who vsurped vnto them selues the deciding of my cause, had bene al of them members of this house [*i.e. of Parliament*]. The persons then in commission were these. [J. WHITGIFT] Th'Archb. of Cant. [J. AYLMER] Bp. of London, [T. COOPER Bishop of] Winchester and [Bishop of] Lincolne: Doctor Lewine, Doctor Coosins, all parliament men at that instant. Now judge whether it be not against all right, that some fewe of the inferiour members in that house, (of which number in respect of manye, I might iustly account the men before named) should extort vnto their priuat censure, the

judgement of a cause preferred publikely vnto the whole parliament.—*p.* 41.

And yet all the justice that poore christians haue at Lambeth is this. "You are now sent for by Lords grace here, and vs her Majesties commissioners, we grant indeed, that as yet we know nothing where-with you may be charged. For accusers you haue none, neither were you sent for to answere vnto them. For it is our maner to deliuer men into bonds (yea and to death if the cause so require) though they haue no accusers to conuince them of any crime. And therefore you must here be deposed vpon your oath, to reueal whatsoeuer you know by your selfe, or any other of Gods children her Majesties subjects. Whereby it shall come to passe, that you shall escape vs narrowly, but ere you depart the court, we shall finde sufficient matter to imprison you, and if you refuse the oath, to prison you shall goe. For we administer it, *Ex officio*, and so vpon your refusall, we may imprison you." The maner of administring iustice at Lambeth.

And will the high court of parliament suffer this bloodie and tirannous inquisition, to be practized any longer within this kinydom? What can the murthering inquisitors of Spaine do more, then by this snare, inueigle mens consciences, and constraine them to spill their owne blood? It is wel knowne, that no suche maner of iniquitie can be warranted vnto the high commission, by the positiue lawes of this land. For in a criminall cause, they inforce no man to be his owne accuser.—*pp.* 42–43.

In this PENRY wrote like a true Englishman. The harshness and cruelty with which the Bishops exercised the large powers possessed by them for other purposes (and then only in moderation) for the repression of their more advanced fellow Protestants, and the maintenance of their worldly position and prerogatives, is the fullest possible justification of the Martinist attack, which was avowedly an attempt to create a public opinion against them.

What else could the Puritans do? Their views expressed in the pulpit, only ensured the silencing and deprivation of the speaker. The right of public meeting was denied to them. Even the private meeting together for the exposition of Scripture &c. often resulted, as we have seen at pp. 38–40, in loss, without any manner of trial, of liberty; and sometimes of life itself. The entire printing of the country was designedly centralized in the metropolis—with the exception of a hand-press grudgingly accorded to each of the two Universities—so as to be under the strong control of their opponents. Although the English press was in its relation to the

general literature, the freest and brightest at that time in the world ; yet in relation to their own special opinions and grievances, it was almost, if not absolutely gagged. If they would not go abroad for their books ; Secret Printing was clearly their last and only card to play.

It is indubitable that JOHN PENRY was the Managing Director, the "soul" of this attack. He who in this *Treatise* had written with so devout and contrite a spirit towards GOD ; so loyal a heart towards his sovereign ; and so earnestly pleaded therein with his fellow countrymen the English, for his native countrymen the Welsh ; evidently devoted the rest of his life, from this first imprisonment in 1587 to the last hour of his freedom in 1593, to an unhalting advocacy of the Puritan views, and exposure of the wrongful acts of their opponents : just as, fifty years later, W. PRYNNE rested not in spirit from the time he, by order of the same Court of High Commission, lost his ears ; until the President of that Court, Archbishop LAUD, lost his head on Tower Hill. Such superlative consecration of effort is but the legitimate fruit of cruelty.

Secret printing was, however—to one not in the trade—beset with innumerable difficulties. A recognized printer might keep secret presses in cellars &c., despite the weekly searches ; but it was forbidden to a private individual to acquire a press or type at all. There was also the further difficulty of finding a compositor who should be so hardy as to exercise his craft in anti-episcopal productions. PENRY managed somehow secretly to buy a press and some foreign type ; but had not WALDEGRAVE been opportunely ruined and aggrieved, he might never have found the printer, without whom the *MARTIN MARPRELATE* Controversy could never have arisen.

We cannot but admire the skill with which he directed the operations of that wandering press. Its movements were largely governed by his own relationships and friendships. It went to East Molesley, because he knew Mistress CRANE. It travelled from there to Fawsley ; because having married HENRY GODLEY's daughter at Northampton, he had settled there, and thereby become acquainted with Sir R. KNIGHTLEY. Everywhere we find the press journeying through the circle of PENRY's acquaintances. And this went on during the nine months, from November 1588 to August 1589 ; while the entire machinery of the State, ecclesiastical and civil, was in motion for the seizure of that press, and his own detection and punishment. In the meanwhile apparently, he had acquired a second press wherewith *MARTIN MARPRELATE's Protestation* was printed, possibly by himself at JOB THROCKMORTON's house, after the seizure of the first at Newton Lane near Manchester by the Earl of DERBY. And lastly, when England got too hot to hold him ; he and THROGMORTON carried on the general conflict with books printed by WALDEGRAVE at Rochelle and Edinburgh.

An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy.

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Note on the BAKER *Transcripts.*

On the 6th December 1716, THOMAS BAKER, B.D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, sold for the nominal sum of One pound, One shilling and One sixpence, Twenty-two Volumes of *Transcripts* which he had copied on all manner of subjects, to Lord HARLEY. These Volumes now form *Harl. MSS.* 7028 to 7050.

BAKER wrote to STRYPE on the 22nd July 1714, that he had parted with the *PUCKERING Papers* to Lord HARLEY (*Cat. of MSS. of Univ. of Cambridge*, v. 135); but only some of these are apparently now among the *Harleian MSS.* in the British Museum.

Localities connected with the Secret Printing.

The country house of Mistress Crane at East Molesey in Surrey.

IT was somewhat mockingly written in JOHN UDALL's Indictment (See copy *Harl. MS.* 7042, *p.* 38) that *Deum præ oculis suis non habens, sed instigatione Diabolica seductus, ac seditiose intendens et machinans &c.*, he did set forth the *Demonstration of Discipline* at "East Moulsley" on the 31st October [1588]. This fixes which of the two Moleseys Mistress CRANE's house was situated in.

The Moleseys, named in "Domesday Book," derive their name from the river Mole, which runs through the parishes, and falls into the Thames at East Molesey.

East Molesey is a rapidly increasing village, situated nearly opposite Hampton Court. It is 13 miles from London and 3 north-west from Kingston.

West Molesey is a small pleasant village and parish, about 1 mile west of East Molesey, on the road to Walton on Thames.

Dunstable Common lies between the two Moleseys on the south.

KELLY's *Post Office Directory*. Surrey. *Ed.* 1878.

The house of Sir Richard Knightley at Fawsley in Northamptonshire.

Fawsley is a parish . . . 4½ miles south from Daventry, 5 south-west from the Weedon station of the London and North-Western railway, 12 south-west from Northampton, 10 north-west from Towcester, and 74 from London. Fawsley Park is the seat of Sir RAINALD KNIGHTLEY, Bart., M.P., J.P., lord of the manor and sole landowner of the parish.

KELLY's *Post Office Directory*. Northampton. *Ed.* 1877.

BAKER gives the following account in his pedigree of Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEY of Fawsley and Norton, æt. 30. *Esch.* 8 *Eliz.* Sheriff for Northamptonshire 10 [1567–8] and 23 [1580–1] *Eliz.* M.P. for Northampton 27 [1584–5] and 28 [1585–6] *Eliz.* : and for Northamptonshire 31 [1588–9] and 39 [1596–7] *Eliz.* [*The fact that he was M.P. for the county within so few years after the Star Chamber sentence is noteworthy.*] Died at Norton on the 1st, buried 2nd September 1615, 13 *Jac. I.* æt. 82. *Northamptonshire, p.* 382. *Ed.* 1822–30.

Lady KNIGHTLEY has obligingly informed us, that there are now no papers whatsoever on the subject of this Controversy at Fawsley; the name of which was formerly spelt *Falwesley*, and by NORDEN *Ffavesley* and *Ffauesly:* but for many years past the spelling has been Fawsley.

The house of Sir Richard Knightley at Norton.

Norton (called Norton-by-Daventry) is a village and parish 2 miles north-east from Daventry, 3 north from Weedon station, 12 from Northampton, and 22 from Warwick. . . . Norton Hall, the seat of A. SEYMOUR, Esq., J.P., is a large handsome stone building situated near the Church in a deer park of 100 acres.

KELLY'S *Post Office Directory*. Northamptonshire. *Ed.* 1877.

The residence of John Hales Esquire, known as the "White Friars" at Coventry.

On the south-east part of this City stood . . . the White Friers . . . which was by King's Letters patent 27 Aug. [1544] 36 *Hen. VIII.* granted to Sir RALPH SADLER, Knight, and his heirs to hold in Burgage, which Sir RALPH sold it to JOHN HALES. Who made it his habitation, as it seems. For by his last Will and Testament dated 17 Dec. [1572] 15 *Eliz.* appointing it to be sold, he there calls it by the name of "Hales place *alias* White Friers in Coventre." He died 5 *Cal. Jan.* [*i.e.* 28 Dec.] *Anno* 1572, 15 *Eliz.* . . .

But notwithstanding the before specified appointment, it was not accordingly sold; for JOHN HALES Esquire enjoyed it.

DUGDALE'S *Warwickshire, pp.* 186–188. *Ed.* 1730.

The residence of Job Throckmorton Esquire at Haseley, near Warwick.

Haseley is a parish . . . 3½ miles north-west from Warwick, 1½ north-east from Hatton station, and 103 from London, near the road from Warwick to Birmingham. ALFRED HEWLETT, Esq., is lord of the manor.

KELLY'S *Post Office Directory*. Warwickshire. *Ed.* 1876.

But upon the attainder of the said JOHN (then Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND) in 1 *Mariæ*, the Queen granted the Manor [of Haseley] to MICHAEL THROKMORTON Esquire and to his heirs: who aliened it the year ensuing to CLEMENT THROKMORTON his Nephew (third son to Sir GEORGE THROKMORTON of Coughton in this County, Knight) who had issue JOB THROKMORTON, one of those notable zealots in Queen ELIZABETH'S time, of whom, with some other of the like spirit, Mr. CAMDEN . . . hath this expression [see p. 142].

DUGDALE'S *Warwickshire, p.* 654. *Ed.* 1730.

JOB THROKMORTON was evidently a wealthy country squire from what M. SUTCLIFFE says in reply to his charge of having spoken "plain scabbe" and "scurvy jacke" to [Rev.] Master EGERTON.

Of all men *M. Throkmorton* hath least cause to talk of kitchen rhetorike, having set a flourish of scurrilitie vpon the bookes set out vnder the name of *Martin* [*Marprelate*], and daubed all his discourses with villany and ribaldry,

such as not only his kitchin maides, but his horse boies would bee ashamed to vtter in priuate, much more in publike. And this he did not in priuate conference, but in bookes printed, not vpon the sodaine being wronged, but vpon deliberate malice against those men, whom all godly men doe honour, which neuer iniured him. Such a braue cutter in kitchen rhetorike is he, neither need he to put vs in mind of his facultie therein: for we are but too much acquainted with it. Least of all should he haue bragged how nimbly hee is able to raile *without sweate or paine;* for his vein therin is not allowed by his friends, and of good men much abhorred, the greater his skill is therin, the lesse is his prayse. I will turne him ouer to be curried by horseboyes, and parboiled by his scolding kitchin maides.

An Answere &c., fol. 26. *Ed.* 1595.

See also following pages 175–184.

Wolston Priory, the residence of Robert Wigston Esquire.

Wolston village is situated on the south bank of the river Avon, 89 miles from London, about 6 south-east from Coventry, 6 west from Rugby, and half a mile from the Brandon station on the London and North-Western railway. . . .

There was formerly an alien Priory established in this place, which was a cell to St. Peter's [*super Dinam*] in France, and the building is now standing, called the Priory, occupied by Mr. THOMAS COPSON WATTS, farmer.

KELLY'S *Post Office Directory*, Warwickshire. *Ed.* 1876.

ROGER WIGSTON was [in his] 40th year of age on 27 September [1577] 19 *Eliz.*

DUGDALE'S *Warwickshire, p.* 37. *Ed.* 1730.

The house at Newton Lane, near Manchester, where the press was seized.

Mr. J. E. BAILEY, F.S.A., of Stretford, Manchester, has kindly favoured us with the following information as to this locality.

In 1596 Dr. JOHN DEE, who patronised SAXTON the map maker, had him down to Manchester to survey the town. There were possessions belonging to the Warden (DEE) and Fellows about Newton Lane; and this survey would be the document, if it could be found. See his *Diary* (Cheetham Society, 1842), *p.* 56, where one "pretended that we have part of Faylesworth Common within our Newton Heath, which cannot be proved I am sure:" and also at *p.* 58 as to the extent of the survey.

From STRYPE'S account, *Annals*, it would appear that the press was seized *in* Newton Lane. It was not the name of a place, but of a wide road passing over Newton Heath by Miles Platting to Newton, one of the Chapelries of Manchester. Newton is marked on SAXTON'S *Map of Manchester*, dated 1577, with a large house or the Chapel indicated. The Lane began at a place at the top of the present Oldham Street called New Cross; and is now called Oldham Road. It is a *wide* road most of the way, indicating waste land on either side; and led to Oldham, a

somewhat obscure town. It appears on no old map of Manchester. It may have been one of the less frequented roads out of Manchester ; and if so, adapted for the *MARPRELATE* secret press.

Newton is two miles east of Manchester. The earliest date of the Chapel is 1573. WHITAKER, from the etymology of the name *New-ton*, says "that it would be the first district added to the township of Manchester." (*Hist. of Manchester*, ii. 109. 4to.)

As Newton *Chapel* would only be a building about that time ; Newton Lane may mean the way to Newton *Heath*. Miles Platting is the name of the *platting* or culvert over the runlet which crossed the road about a *mile* from Manchester.

Just beyond Miles Platting the road passed through the lands, on both sides of it, belonging to Manchester Church. The Wardens and Fellows were, indeed, Lords of the Manor.

In 1473 only one tenant of Newton is named as a rental. (HARLAND's *Mamecestre, p.* 504 [Cheetham Society], *Ed.* 1862.)

1772. A townsmeeting to make public a road called Oldham Street (between Infirmary, Market Street, and New Cross) in the way to the town of Oldham.

Newton Lane is so termed in GREEN's *Plan of Manchester*, 1787–1794.

BAINES' *History of Lancashire*, i. 315, *Ed.* 1868, 4to., says "that Newton Lane is Great Ancoats Street : " But this is wrong, for there was no direct road to Newton that way ; it being too southerly.

The Press might have been secretly favoured by some of the Fellows of the College at Newton ; of which the then Warden was the Rev. WILLIAM CHADDERTON, afterwards Bishop of CHESTER. There is much about him in PECK's *Desiderata Curiosa*. He was an intimate friend of the Earl of DERBY, who lived at Alport Lodge, a mansion on the south side of the town of Manchester. "Prophesyings" were held in numerous houses about Manchester, and were encouraged by the Warden and some of the Fellows. The Annals of CHADDERTON's Wardenship are given in S. HIBBERT-WARE's *History of the Foundations in Manchester*, i. 124, 1830. 4to. On the Ecclesiastical condition of the diocese in 1590, see *Vol. XCVI.* of Cheetham Society's publications.

A life of FERDINANDO Earl of DERBY is given in *The Stanley Papers* published by the same Society.

Depositions at Kingston and Richmond in November 1588 *on the first appearance of* MARTIN MARPRELATE's Epistle.

14° Nouembris 1588. Anno Regin[a]e Elizabeth[a]e &c. xxxmo.

The depositions of NIC[H]OLAS KYDWELL of Kingston vpon Thames &c, vpon his oath sayeth

THat this Day beeing the xiiijth of Nouember at the Schoolehouse in Kingeston master CHATFIELD called this Deponent to him, and told him, that the bookes or libelles called by the name of *MARTIN MARPRELATE* [*i.e. the Epistle*] were to bee sold at the house of one MARKES COLLYNS one of the Baylies of the Towne of Kingeston, and at the house of one ROBERT DODDESON: and that the sayd Master CHATFIELD Did offer to bee deposed of this [*i.e. to make a deposition of it.*] And that the common speeche is, that Master VDALL Did kepe one in writing for the space of three weekes in Richemond; but where they cannot tell, but say Master WATERS Vicar of Richemond can tell where it was.

To the same effect doeth one WILLIAM STANGHTON of Kingeston depose. And one CUTBERT COOK of Kingeston doeth likewise affirme for the latter parte [*viz.*] of Master VDALLS keeping one to write in Richemond. /

Master KYDWELL furder deposeth, that the sayd bookes are sold in the sayd housen for ijd a peece.

N KYDWELL
WILLIAM × STANGHTONs marke./

Harl. MS. 6849, *fol.* 157. Mr. BAKER's copy is in *Harl. MS.* 7042, *fol.* 34.

xiiij° Nouembris 1588. Anno Regin[a]e Elizabeth[a]e &c. xxxmo.,

The depositions of JOHN GOOD of Kingston vpon Thames, sworne and examined deposeth.

THat hee hath heard that Master VDALL kept one continually writinge at Richemond, and did often repayre to the house of one TYE a Butcher there in Richemond, and about a fortenight a goe, once euery Day for the most parte.

And furder that hee the said VDALL Doeth frequent the house of one THOMAS MANNE a Stationer in Pater Noster Rowe. [*not signed.*]

Harl. MS. 6849, *fol.* 159.

Vicesemo Nono Novembris 1588.

The examinacion of WALTER ROGERS clerk, minister of Richmond in the countie of Surr[e]y, set downe vppon his othe this daie taken before Master Doctor AUBREY. In the presence of JOHN BEDILL Notary publique./

SAith, that aboute the Moneth of September [1588] last, this Examinate being in companie with one WILLIAM PARKES dwelling in Ritchmond aforesaid, emongst other speeches which then passed betwene them, the said PARKES did open, and declare to this Examinate, that he was informed by some of HORTONS howse in Richmond, that there was at the same time a certen person, writinge of a booke in the same HORTONS howse, for and in the behalf of Master VDALL of Kingston, but what the booke did containe, or what the name of the person that wrote the same was, he did not declare, neither hath this Examinate had the certentie thereof, nor as yet can by anie meanes le[a]rne./

Sayth further that in, or about the time aforesaid, the said VDALL did divers times resort to the Howse of the said HORTON, who is a man addicted unto Puritanisme, and a

great favo[u]rer of that faction, as his neighbo[u]rs who hath sene him there, hath credeblie advertized this Examinate./

And further sayth, that about Michaelmas [1588] last past, this Examinate comminge to the howse of the said Horton, and asking him for his Duties [*tithes*], the said Horton burst into a great rage with this Examinate, in that (as he said) this Examinate Did condemne Paget the Pre[a]cher, sayinge further, that he did hope to se[e] this Examinate, and all the rest of this Examinates profession that were addicted as he was, pulled owt of the church by the Eares./

Walter Rogers.

Harl. MS. 6849, *fol.* 120. Mr. Baker's copy is in *Harl. MS.* 7042, *p.* 15.

[Between Michaelmas 1588—Michaelmas 1589. Probably the Autumn of 1589.]

[The Deposition of Stephen Chatfield, Vicar of Kingston.]

1. About ij° years synce [*i.e.* in 1587] being in Master Vdalls studie, after priuate conference had betwixt him and mee, hee shewed me certen written papers, which when I had seen, I clapt them vp together agayne and told him I would not proceed to reade any furder of them, demaunding of him where he had them: He aunswered they were sent him from a frend of his. I told him, if he Loued his owne quietnesse, he should retourne them where he had them [from]: forsomuche as in deed, by the tytles of the bookes I perceaued they did importe suche matter as is conteyned in this scandalouse Libell

2. About a ffortenight before Michaellmasse [1588] last Master Vdall and I hauing conference together in a field called "the little ffield" nere Kingeston, after certen speeches vsed in choller touching his putting [*being put*] to silence by Doctor Hone, he sayed that it was best for them not to stopp his mouth: ffor yf they did, he would then sett himself to writing, and geue the Bishoppes suche a blowe as they neuer had the lyke in their lyves.

Stephen Chatfild.

Let Doddeson bee examined whether he did not offer one of the libelles to Roger Watson of Kingeston for vjd.

Harl. MS. 6849, *fol.* 130. Mr. Baker's copy is in *Harl. MS.* 7042, *p.* 31.

II.

The Examinations of NICHOLAS TOMKINS.

At the very time the following deposition was being made, WALDEGRAVE was finishing the printing of the *Mineral Conclusions* at Mr. HALES' house, the "Friary" at Coventry.

Feb. 15 : 1588 [*i.e.* 1589] *apud Lambehith in Com. Surr*: Th' Examination of NICHOLAS THOMKYNS sworn and examined, sayth, viz.

1. HE sayth, he never saw aboue 3 *MARTIN MARPRELATES* whereof one was of the first [*the Epistle*], and two other of the latter sort [*i.e. the Epitome*].

2. He sayth, he saw the first in one PINDERS hand, as he was reading it to EVANS his [TOMKIN's] Brother in Law, in the Examinates own Chamber, which Booke was this Examinates own, and he had it of Master [GILES] WIGGINTON, but payd nothing to him for it. And furder sayth, that his Wyef tooke it from him this Examinate, and carried it home with her to her Brother EVANS. The other two he saw in Master [GILES] WIGGINGTONS hands, whilst he lay [*stayed*] at Mistress CRANES House, but he never read any of them, nor was willing to read, or see any more of them.

3. He knoweth neither Author, Publisher, or Printer of ye Books certenly, but hath heard some name Master FIELD, some Master WIGGINGTON, others Master PENRY, and others Master MARBURY a Preacher, to be the Author of them. But who hath so reported it to him, he doth not remember.

4. He sayth, that when [*on the 13th May* 1588] WALDEGRAVES Press was marred, WALDEGRAVE brought a Case of Lettres [*type*], to his Mistresses House in London, and left them there a Month together, but whether they were defaced or no, he knoweth not.

5. Being asked how long PENRY or WALD[E]GRAVE hath been at his Mistresses House within this year, he sayth, he

doth not directly know, how long, whether a month, two months, or more. But being examined, how long he believeth they have been there, he believeth they were about 3 weeks in her Howse in the Country after Midsommer, and being demanded, when they or either or them, were at his Mistresses Howse last, he sayth they were there about Michaelmas last, and whether since to his knowledge or belief, he answereth, he knoweth not, but believeth verily they were not there since Allhallowtide [1 *November* 1588.]

6. Being examined what speeches he used, when he found Pinder and his [own] Brother [in law] Evans reading the Booke [*the Epistle*], he sayth, he asked, "what the price thereof was," and they answered, "It cost 9d." and he then, this Examinate, sayd "he might by them for 6d. a piece, although he would have never so many."

7. Being examined furder, whether he then sayd not "that he might have had all the *Martin Marprelates* [*Epistle*], and so haue gained 20 marks [£13 6*s*. 8*d*. *or in present value* £100] by them." He confesseth he sayd so.

And being asked of whome he could have had them, sayth he might have had them of Wald[e]grave, who meeting him in ye street did talk with him about them, but he refused to meddle with them. This offer was made by Wald[e]grave of the first Books [*the Epistle*], not of the Second [*the Epitome*]. And furder denieth, that Wald[e]grave ever told him, who was the Author thereof. Neither did this Examinate ever aske him.

8. Being examined, what Booke it was, which Bound Hoel mentioneth to be printed in Mistress Crane's Howse in the Country, he thinketh it to be the *Demonstration of Discipline*. And afterward upon better remembrance, he addeth, that he cannot well tell whether he had the first Booke of *Martin Marpelate* from Master Wiggington or from Waldegrave, but he rather thinketh he had it of Waldegrave. *By me* Nicholas Tomkins.

A Recognisance for £20 for his appearance before the Commissioners &c.

9. *Memorandum.* That among other Speeches which he uttered, he sayd, that he thought Davyson was not the Author of *Diotrephes*, but rather thinketh Master Udall was.

And furder being demanded among other Questions, where the Booke of MARTIN [*i.e. the Epistle*] was printed, he answered, "you know well enough, even where this last Booke was printed," insinuating Northamptonshire.

Memorandum. That this Examination was taken and subscribed as afore, before Master RICHARDE COSIN *one of the Masters of the Courte of Chancery.*

RICHARD COSIN.

Harl. MS. 7042, *p.* 13.

T. BAKER B.D. notes in his Transcript of the following: "This Paper was wrote in so wretched a hand, that it is hardly possible to give a true and perfect copy." The Interrogatories themselves are not preserved.

29. die Novembris 1589. NYCHOLAS TOMKINS of London in the parish of Aldermanbury sworn and examined.

1. BEing asked when WAL[DE]GRAVE brought the Case of Lettres [*type*] to Mistress CRANES [*whose servant he was*] Howse in London, he answereth that it was shortly after WAL[DE]-GRAVES his Lettres [*type*] were defaced [*i.e. after 13th May* 1588].

2. *To the second* he sayth, that WAL[DE]GRAVE and his Wyffe brought these Lettres [*type*] to the Howse, and layd the same upon the boorde [*table*] in the Howse, and from the Boorde this Examinate did take them and layd them vp &c.

3. *To the thirde* he answereth, that to his remembrance the Case of Lettres [*type*] remained there about 3. Months [*i.e. May to July* 1588].

4. *To the 4th:* This Deponent sayth that WAL[DE]GRAVES Wyfe did fetch away the Case—and that Mistress NEWLAND delivered the same to heire [*her*].

5. *To the 5th:* He believeth in his conscience that WAL[DE]GRAVE and PENRY were printing some Books, and that he does so believe, because PENRY did desire Mistress CRANE that he might unlade a loade of stuff at her said House in Mowlsley in which lode of Stuff he beleveth the Press and Lettres [*type*] were.

6. *To the 6th:* he knoweth not any thing of the Printer, but that he thinketh the said WAL[DE]GRAVE and [PENRY] were then occupied about ye printing of a Booke about Michalmas [1588].

7. *To the 7th:* he sayth that he being in London did hear of Wal[de]grave, and Davy (Penryes man), that Udall resorted to Mowlsley at sundry tymes, while the said Wal[de]grave and Penry were there.

8. *To the 8th:* he answereth that Wal[de]grave in London, offred him ye sale of a nombre of *Martins* Books [*i.e. of the "Epistle" in November* 1588], but he took but one &c.

9. *To the 9th:* he hath h[e]arde Penry named to be the Author of the first *Martin*, but he knoweth that Udall was the Author of the *Demonstration of Discipline*, for that Udall himself told him so, and that he saw in Kingston upon Thames either in Udalls own hand or in the . . . House, a Catalogue of such Books as Udall made and printed and in that catalogue he saw that Booke of *Demonstration of Discipline* for one

10. *To the tenth*, he sayth that he beleveth, that the Booke of *Demonstration of Discipline* was printed in Mistress Cranes Howse, at Mowlsley, because the printing Press was there, and that Udall and Wal[de]grave were likewise together at that tyme in that Howse.

11. *To the 11th:* he sayth, that he beleves that Udall was [the] Author of *Diotrephes*, because he saw that Booke also in ye said Catalogue, and because he is a Northern Man.

12. *To the 12th:* he sayth, that therefore he thinketh, that the first *Martin* was printed in Northamptonshire, because the Press was carried thider from Mowlsey,

and being asked, how he knowethe [of] the removeing of the Presse from Mowlsey, he sayth, that he h[e]arde Penry promise Mistress Crane (fearing some trouble by receavinge of the loade of Stuff, wherein the Presse was) that he wolde fynde ye meanes to carry the same away again to Northamptonshire.

And further sayth, that at his Mistress Cominge thider at Hallowmas [1 November 1588], all was removed thence.

To the 13th: He believeth, that Penry himself was &c.

By me, Nicholas Tomkins.

Examined before us, William Aubrey,

Harl. MS. 7042, *p.* 32. *W: Lewyn.*

III.

The Examination of Rev. JOHN UDALL, 13 Jan. and 13 July 1590.

[See also *pp.* 144–147.]

INterrogatories for master VDALL./

Harl. MS. 6849, *fol.* 166.

[*It would appear from the next column that they were not actually put precisely as they are here written.*]

1. Did you not verie often resorte to one HORTONS howse then dwellinge in Richmond betwene Mich[a]elmas [29 Sept.] and Hollowmasse [1 Nov.] in the yere 1588.
2. Was there not one in that time and in that howse by your meanes or privitie kept there, to write thinges for you./.
3. What was his name./.
4. What did he write there.
5. How longe time continued he there in writinge.

xiij° die Januarij 1589 [*i.e.* 1590]/ [13 *July* 1590.]

The examination of JOHN VDALL late the preacher at Kingston vppon Theames vppon certen Interrogatories, and questions Obiected vnto him./

Harl. MS. 6849, *fol.* 164.

To the first he saith that he often times resorted to the howse of THOMAS HORTON in Richemond/

To the second he aunswereth negatiuelie./

6. Did not you often resorte within that tyme to mistres CRANES howse at Mowlsey.

7. What company founde you there, at the time of your so resorting thither/.

8. Amonge other[s] did you not finde in that howse ROBERT WALL[DE]GRAVE and JOHN PENRY.

9. Whether were they not printinge of some bookes at that time./.

10. What bookes were then printed there.

To the vjth he confesseth that he resorted nowe and then to Mistres CRANES howse in Moulsey/

To the vij, viij, ix and xth he first aunswereth that if he should aunswere generallie whether anie bookes were there printed, that then peradventure he might accuse him self, wherein he desireth to be pardoned./ [*i.e. for not answering.*]

He added vpon his now examination xiij Julij 1590 *yat he can neyther accuse nor excuse him selfe and so he saithe in like manner for WAL[DE]GRAVE*./

11. Was not the *Demonstrac[i]on of discipline* one of the bookes then printed there. and the dialogue called *DIOTREPHES.*/

12. Were not you the maker of those bookes or of either of them./

13. Have not you confessed to NICHOLAS TOMKINS, JOHN PENRY or any other, that you were the Author of the said bookes, or of one of them?/

14. Was there not a Cattaloge sett downe of suche bookes as you had made, and ex-

Being asked whether he were not acquainted with the makinge of the *demonstracion of Discipline* and of *DIOTREPHES.*/ Saith that he desireth to be pardoned to aunswere for anie booke towchinge Discipline./

[Note, *DIOTREPHES* was printed in April 1588, by WALDEGRAVE in London.]

Being asked whether he had not talke with JOHN CHELSHAM of Kingston touchinge the said two bookes. Saith that he knowethe not what talke he hath had with him in that point. And more he answereth not./

And now addeth he thinkes him not fyt to be made acquaynted ther[e]with yf he had de[a]lt in the said bokes.

tant amonge many in Kingston, and specially in the howse of CHELSAM the butcher and in your owne howse.

15. Were not the *Demonstracion* and *DIOTREPHES* sett downe therein.

16. What other booke was there printed besides those at that time.

17. Was the first *MARTIN* [*i.e. the Epistle*] printed there?

18. yf it were not printed there, where was it printed and by whom?

[*Interrogatory*] 10. Beinge asked what bookes he knoweth to be printed at Mistres CRANES. And whether those two bookes were not there printed / He Denieth to aunswere. /

Beinge asked what bookes were printed at Mistres CRANES howse. Desireth to be pardoned to aunswere that question, and other aunswere will not make. /

Being asked what WALL[DE]GRAVE and PENRIE Did at Mistres CRANES howse at such times, as this Examinate was with them at Mistres CRANES house. / He desireth pardon not to aunswere. /

19. Did not certen thinges conteyned in the first *MARTIN* proceede from your owne collection and Reporte, namelie touching Doctor

Beinge asked whether he made any collection of thinges that are nowe contayned in *MARTIN MARPRELAT*. / Saith that he thincketh the matter

he adde the now. sauinge that he had ye same in his studie, in wryting but how it came forthe to ye printing he cannot tell

HONE, Doctor COTTINGTON and Master HARVEY.

20. To whom did you imparte or deliuer that your reporte and Collection, and to what end.

21. Had you not certen writinges in your studie touchinge your owne actions and some others that are mentioned in that first *MARTIN*.

did proceede from his Report of some thinges conteyned in *MARTINMARPRELAT*, but knoweth not howe it came in writinge./

22. Did not you shewe CHATFEILD the vicar of Kingston those writinges before the first *MARTIN* was printed or at the least did not he reade the same in your studie in your presence.

Beinge asked whether he did not shewe those his collections or parte of them to master [*i. e.* Rev. THOMAS] FFIELD, and Master CHATFIELD vicar of Kingeston, or eyther of them./ Saith that he Did./

23. Did not you about Michelmas in the yere 1588. or at any other tyme tell CHATFEILD, that yf you should be removed by the Byshopps from your place in Kingeston, they should giue you occasion to employ your self in spe[a]kinge or writing against them.

He confesseth that he said to Master CHATFIELD, if the Bisshopps restrained him, and others from pre[a]chinge that then the Bishopps should giue them occasion to employe themselves in writinge the more against their goverment/

24. Did not you then plainelie saye to

He saith that if divers pre[a]chers had not

CHATFEILD, that yf the Byshopps did stopp your mouth, you wo[u]ld set your self to writinge, and give them suche a blowe as they neuer had the like/.

25. Who did deliuer you the first *MARTIN*, and to whom did you reade or deliuer the same./.

25. What other bookes of *MARTIN* haue you had, reade/ or deliuered to any other./

bin put to silence, the matter had not come to that extremitie to which nowe it is, towchinge the question of Ecclesiasticall Discipline./

John Vdall.

this xiijth of Julie 1590 *confessed as his examynacion and confessyon formerlye made before certen commissyoners in yat behalfe.*
before vs

John Puckering.
Matthew Carew.

Harl. MS. 6849, *fol.* 164.

Th[e] examination of master VDALL.

[The *Interrogatories* themselves are apparently not preserved].

TO *the first* [*Interrogatory*] Sayeth, that, hee hath bene at Richemond three or fower tymes synce June [1589] last, [*but* June last twelvemonth *is intended*, *i.e.* 1588. *UDALL appears to have been at Newcastle during the whole of* 1589, *see p.* 170] and hath bene at the house of one Master HORTON there, who requested his company.

To the second, *respondet* negatiue.

To the third, negatiue.

To the fourth, negatiue.

To the vth, negatiue.

To the vjth, he sayth, that the generall historie of the thinges conteyned in the booke [*the Epistle*], he thinketh to haue proceeded from his owne reportes, touching Master HONE, Master COTTINGTON and Master HARUEY; but the particularities of them hee hath not vttered, as the revylinge of them &c.

To the vijth sayth, that hee vseth ordinarily euery fortnight to resort to the house of Thomas Man [*a theological publisher living at the* Talbot *in Paternoster Row*], to buy bookes, and to pay for such as hee hath had, because hee is his Stationar.

To the viijth, he sayeth he had certen papers in his studie touching the Actions of himself and some others, which he shewed to Master Chatfield: And further sayth: that hee deliuered a reporte of his owne Actions and of others to Master ffield in writing, and to one Ellham a merchant at London touching the conference betwene himself and [Thomas Cooper] the Lord Bishop of Winton, about the subscription.

To the ixth, he sayeth, that, master Chatfield and hee having some conference together, Master Chatfield having signified to him that hee was commaunded to retourne and remayne at Kingston especially for the removing of this Examinate from thence, by authoritie from the Bishoppes, hee aunswered, if it were so, then they should geue him occasion to employ himself furder in speaking or writing against them, or words to that effect

Iohn Vdall.

Verified this his confession this xiijth of Julye 1590 *before vs*

John Puckering
Matthew Carew

Harl. MS. 6849, *fol.* 154.

IV.

The Deposition of HENRY SHARPE, *a bookbinder at Northampton, on the 15th October 1589.*

T is clear from the way in which PENRY wrote of SHARPE, six months later in his *Appellation*, see *p.* 174; that he bore him no illwill for this complete disclosure. MATTHEW SUTCLIFFE stated in 1595 that "SHARPE being examined concerning these matters, sent JOB THROKMORTON a note of that he had confessed," see *p.* 182.

HENRY SHARPE sworn and examined by the appointment of the Lord Chancellour of England ye 15th: day of October, 1589: sayth as followeth.

a. Concerning the first Booke [*i.e. the Epistle*] of *MARTIN MAR-PRELATE*, this Examinate sayth, It came out in ye begining of December [*or rather in November, see pp.* 81, 82] 1588: and was printed at Kingston upon T[h]ames as this Examinate gathereth by Master PENRYS words.

b. Before the said first *MARTIN* was published, this Examinate did see it at Northampton being printed, in Master PENRYS hands, and asking him who made it, his answere was that some such notes were found in Master FEILDS Study, that Master FEILD upon his death bed willed they should be burnt, and repented for collecting them, whereby this Examinate was satisfied, supposeing it to have been of Master FEILDS doing. Master PENRY then told this Examinate also, that WAL[DE]GRAVE had printed it, that WAL[DE]GRAVE had had yt a good while to print, that WAL[DE]GRAVE had printed yt now agaynst his will, for that sayth he, I wo[u]lde have had my Boke agaynst Doctor SOME first printed.

c. Being further demanded. who was the Correcter of this

first Booke in ye printing of it, the Examinate sayth, he is uncertain, howbeit he supposeth, It was one Master Udall, then of Kingstone, for that the *Demonstration of Discipline*, which Master Penry told him was of Udalls makeing, was about the same tyme printed there at Kingstone also with the first *Martin*.

d. The Press that printed this first *Martin*, was Master Penrys, but Wal[de]grave the Printer had ye Commodity of ye Sale thereof [*i.e. the profits on these publications*], as Penry told this Examinate.

e. About the latter end of Christmas Holydays [*this date is erroneous*], Master Henry Penry talked with his Examinate, concerning the fetching of the Press from Kingston, for that he feared (as he sayed) that yt was known to be there. And did afterwards send one Jeffs of Upton a Husbandman and Tenant of Master Valentyne Knightleys, who did fetch yt with his Carte, and had for his paynes and charges 50s: [=*in present value* £20] as Master Penry told this Examinate.

f. Before this Press came down, Wal[de]grave as this Examinate sayth, had conference with Sir Richard Knightley at a Muster in Northampton, and was also at his Howse with him, as he thinketh; and for Penry, that he is very familiar with the said Knight.

g. When the Press came down, which was in January [1589, *or rather November* 1588, *see p.* 130] yt was carried to Fawsley to Sir Richard Knightleys Howse, as this Examinate thinketh, and there the *Epitome* was printed by Wal[de]grave, Penry being the Corrector himself, as he thinketh. It came out and was published in February [1589], as he thinketh.

h. This Examinate never saw this Press at Fawsley, but these reasons he hath, whereby he is induced so to think.

A Mayde that had dwelt with the Keper of the House there at that tyme, gave yt out as this Examinate hath h[e]arde it reported, that there had bene Bookes printed lately at Fawsley.

Newman told this Examinate, that the *Epitome* was printed there.

One Steven a man of Sir Richard Knightleys told him, that he the said Steven, car[r]yed the Press thence.

The voyce of the Country [*district*] was, that this

Booke was printed at Fawsley, and that there was a Press there.

Master VALENTINE KNIGHTLEY talking upon a tyme with this Examinate about his matter, sayd, "he was very sorry that ever his Father suffered any such thing to come about his Howse," affirming "that out of doubt, It would bring his Father to great troubles."

i. Again he, this Examinate, talking upon a tyme with Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEY, and saying "he wondred, how he would answere this matter of printing of this Booke, yf yt were known, and whether he was not affraid least his Howse sho[u]ld have bene searched, considering that Master BAKER the Officiall and diverse others, had the being of the Press there in their mouthes;" Sir RICHARD answered thus, in effect, "Let me alone ye Knaves durst not search my House, yf they had, I wo[u]lde have courst [*chased*] them, they know well inough, but now yt ys gone, and that danger is past."

k. As this Examinate thinketh, when these Bookes were printed, they were brought from Fawsley by Master PENRYS meanes. At one tyme he went with Master PENRY within a mile of Fawsley, and stayed in a field there by PENRYS appointment, bayting his Horse, and so in the mean tyme Master PENRY went to Fawsley, and brought a Cloke Bag with Bookes behinde him, and on the morrow this Examinate had some of the *Epitome* brought to his House, as he thinketh, by Master PENRYS appointment, for that he payd unto PENRY the money due for them.

l. About 3: or 4: days after (as this Examinate remembreth) NEWMAN was at Northampton, who car[r]yed up these Bookes, as he thinketh, to London being bownde [*? stitched*] by WAL[DE]GRAVE himself at Fawsley.

m. When this Second Booke came out, then this Examinate, as he sayth, began to suspect PENRY to be the Author of yt / and talking with him told him as much, alledging this reason, "Surely" sayth this Examinate "I think this Booke (the *Epitome*) to be of your making, because there are two or three Phrases in ye *Epistle* of it, which are yours certainly." Whereunto Master PENRY gave no answere but laughed. Besides this Examinate began then likewise to suspect PENRY for the Author of ye first Booke, in that Master FEILD being dead / this Booke came out, which was promised

in ye first. And furthermore the same suspicion was also generally amongst his favourers recyved for a truth. Newman in like sort affirmed to this Examinate, that Penry was thought generally at London, to be the Author of these Bookes.

n. After that tyme upon some other occasion, this Examinate asking Master Penry whether this were a lawfull Course, that *Martyn* had taken in the two said Bookes to jest in such sort, and to detect to the world such mens Infirmities. He answered that godly men had taken heretofore the like Course, as Master [Theodore de] Beza in his Booke named [*Epistola responsiva ad commissionen sibi &c.* 1553, under pseudonym of *Benedictus*] *Passavantius*; the Author [Philip van Marnix van Sant Aldegonde] of the *Bee-Hive* [*of the Romish Church*] [Coclius Secundus Curio, the writer of] *Pasquine in a traunce &c.*

o. Upon the aforesaid suspicion and common speach in the Country, of the Press being at Sir Richard Knightleys, It was sent thence, as this Examinate sayth by Steven, Sir Richards man (one whome he used secretly in these matters) unto the "Fryers" in Coventrye, where Master Hales dwelleth, after yt had been at Sir Richard Knightleys above three weeks, as he thinketh. This was signifyed to this Examinate by the said Steven, as they were riding together over a gutter / where Steven told this Examinate he was never so affraid as he was least his Carte should have stuck fast in ye same gutter, as he was dryving it to Coventry.

p. When this Press was there setled, then began Wald[e]grave to print ye *Mineralls* [*Conclusions*] which [*i.e. the manuscript copy*] he had of Master Penry, and after sent them to this Examinates House [*? at Northampton, or at his father-in-law's at Woolston*], where Newman was ready within a day to receyve them, and so leaving with this Examinate about 50 or more, the rest he tooke towards London.

[Note that there is no mention of the *Mineral Conclusions* being bound, *i.e.* stitched by Sharpe the binder, as he did the subsequent books. This arises from the fact that the *Minerals* is simply a broad-sheet.]

q. This Pamphlet was shewed by Penry to the Examinate in written hand, before It was printed. He did

commend it unto him, as a pretty thing to be set out, before the other Bookes. He heard him then read it in writing, and he told this Examinate, that yt was sent him from Lonndon. Howbeit when it came out in print, which was about the 20th: of February [1589], this Examinate began then to suspect yt to be of PENRYS makeing, because there were some taunts against Doctor SOME in the printed, which he did not remember were in the written Copy, which he had heard re[a]d before.

r. Next to this Pamphlet, the *Supplication* was there printed, which came out before the midst of Lent. In the time of the printing of this said Booke, this Examinate did ryde with PENRY to Coventry, and there asking him, "If they might not goe to see WALD[E]GRAVE," "No" sayth he, "for WALD[E]GRAVE perceyving that my often going to Fawsley, did make the place to be suspected, hath forbidden me to come at him."

s. That day this Examinate was with PENRY at Master PIGOTS in that City. That afternoon Master HALES and Master PENRY going towards the "Fryers" this Examinate followed them, but they seeing him beck[o]ned that he should go back, and so he went that night to Wolston foure Myles thence.

t. About a fortnight after this Examinate being at Coventry, the said *Supplication* came out, which was before Midlent [9 March 1589]. At which tyme this Examinate being at Wolston, NEWMAN came unto him thither, and having with him at Master WIGSTONS about a thousand of the said Bookes, desired this Examinate to binde [*i.e. stitch*] them; which he refused to do there, but helped him to carry them to Northampton, and there bound them. Which being done, NEWMAN left about a 100 with this Examinate, and carried the rest towards London, as this Examinate thinketh. Master PENRY was at this tyme with NEWMAN at Master WIGSTONS. This Examinate payd PENRY for the said 100: Bookes.

v. As soon as this *Supplication* was thus dispatched, then *Hay Any Worke for the Cowper* went in hand (as this Examinate thinketh). This booke was about 3: weekes in printing, in which space this Examinate being at Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEYS, and signifying that he was ryding to

his Father-in-Lawes, Steven told him that he sho[u]lde bear him Company. And riding together Stephen told this Examinate, that he was riding to Coventry to fetch some new Bookes. This Examinate went after to Wolston, and the next day Steven came to him in his io[u]rney homewards, and told him they were not yet ready, and that he must come again for them a week after.

w. About a week after this tyme, which was about Palm Sunday [23 March 1589], this Examinate being in Northampton, Newman brought unto him about 700. of ye Bookes, *Hay any worke for Cooper*, and then he told this Examinate, that Wal[de]grave had sent some of his part of the said Books already to London, which were about 200: and moe. This Examinate bound up the said 700: Bookes, and Newman tooke them away with him, all but 100: which he left with this Examinates wife, and after his return did fetch the most of them again, for the which this Examinate did chide with Newman, for that he was loth to haue any to gayne but himself.

x. This Booke the Examinate thinketh to be of Master Penrys makeing, for that there is the same reason made in that Booke, for the lawfullness in iesting, which he made to this Examinate before the Booke was printed. [*See p.* 12.]

About this tyme the search for these matters being very hot, Steven, Sir Richard Knightleys man was conveyed out of the way for a tyme, as afterward the said Steven confessed to this Examinate.

In the Easter week, this Examinate being with his Father in lawes at Wolston, Wal[de]grave came thither, and dyning with this Examinate, after they walked into the fields, and there this Examinate asking him, "What newes," he answered, "that now all was dispatched, and that the Milne was not going" (for that was the Phrase of ye printing) "that he wolde no longer meddle or be a dealer in this Course, partly because" sayth he, "all the Preachers that I have conferred withall do mislike yt, but chiefly for that he had now gotten the thing he had long desired," which was Master Cartwrights *Testament* against the Jesuits as Master Penry told this Examinate afterwards, and said "he wo[u]lde go [and] print yt in Devonshire." Furthermore this Examinate asking him, how it chanced

that he looked so palely, he answered "that one of Master HALES men kept him so closely at worke, that for that tyme, he had lyved as in a Prison, and could not haue oftentymes warme meate."

y About this tyme of Easter [1589], this Examinate fyndeing how he was layd [*sought*] for by the High Commissioners, and understanding withall, how the Lord Chancellor [Sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON] was offended with him, was purposeing to haue offered [*surrendered*] himself, of his own accord, into their hands, especially unto the Lord Chancellor: And did thereupon confer with Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEY, who did disswade him from that purpose, saying "that if he went now up, they were presently [*at that time*] so moved; as surely they wo[u]lde hang him," and so willed him "to withdraw himself, untill they were better pacifyed."

z. After the said Easter week [30 Mar.—5 Apr. 1589], this Examinate did not meet with Master PENRY as he remembreth untill about May day, and then askinge him "What became of WAL[D]EGRAVE" and "whether they sho[u]lde have any more new Bookes," he answered, "that WAL[DE]GRAVE was surely in hand in some corner with the printing of Master CARTWRIGHTS *Testament*, that he looked daily for his *Appellation* from him, and that then he sho[u]lde goe in hand with *More worke for* COOPER," and further sayd "that WAL[DE]GRAVE had the Dutch Letters with him."

Note, that WALDEGRAVE never *did* print T. CARTWRIGHT's *Annotations* on the Rhemish *Testament*, and that PENRY's *Appellation* is dated 7th March, 1589 [*i. e.* 1590] and was printed, according to MATTHEW SUTCLIFFE (see *pp.*178–181) by WALDEGRAVE at Rochelle. The "Dutch Letters" was the German black-letter type in which the *Epistle*, the *Epitome*, the *Minerals*, and *Hay any work* were printed. It is corroborative of this statement, and also that WALDEGRAVE henceforth ceased to have anything to do with the strictly Martinist productions, that none of their later works are printed in this black letter.

Not long after, that is a little before Whitsontide [18 *May* 1589] as this Examinate remembreth, Master PENRY hearing that WAL[DE]GRAVE was gone to Rochell[e], dealt with this Examinate, and asked him, "if he co[u]lde not worke about the Press." He answered "that he could in

some sorte, but that he wo[u]lde not so doe, except the Lord Chancellor refused to remit him." And thereupon this Examinate sent his wife to the Lord Chancellor, with a Supplication to that purpose.

A little after Whitsontide [*i.e. End of May* 1589] Master Penry dispairing of Wal[de]graves return procured, as he told this Examinate, one [John] Hoskins to supply Wal[de]graves place, which he willingly undertooke to doe, as Hoskins told him likewise afterwards.

aa. About this Whitsontide Newman had Sir Richard Knightleys Lyvery, with his Cognisance, which he had and ware (as this Examinate thinketh) for that thereby he might with less danger publish his Books, and not be taken.

bb. After this Examinates wives going to London, It was towards Midsummer [1589], before she returned. At what tyme Master Penry hearing that there wolde be no remission obteyned, he then urged again this Examinate, that according to his promiss, he wolde now help Hoskins at the Press. But then this Examinate understanding by his wife, how the matter was taken aboue [*i.e. at Court*], he utterly refused to have any dealing therein.

cc. About the said Midsommer [1589], Hoskins afterwards coming to Northampton, told this Examinate that he had sent a Press into the North to printe some such new Books, as Master Penry sholde sett him on worke withall, and sayd further to this Examinate, "If I want worke, will you helpe me away with a stampe of Accidents [?]." To whome this Examinate answered, "When I see them I will tell you more." Thus Hoskins and this Examinate parted, and this Examinate did verily thinke for a tyme, that Hoskins had been in the North.

dd. It should seem, that after Wal[de]graves departure, the Press being packed up, Master Hales wolde suffer no more printing there, or what else the cause was, this Examinate knoweth not, but howsoeuer, this he thinketh, that by Master Penrys perswasion, Mistress Wigston caused the said Press to be fetcht from Coventry in her wag[g]on vnto her own Howse in Wolston: but how long this Press remayned at Coventry, before yt was fetcht to Wolston, this Examinate knoweth not.

ee. Within a fortnight after Midsommer, this Examinate

being drawn by necessity to leave Northampton, went to dwell at Wolston with his wives Mother, and after his coming thither, he found that there, for the which he was sorry. For whereas he had thought that HOSKINS had been printing in the North, he found him at worke at Master WIGSTONS Howse at Wolston, in printing of *MARTIN Iunior* and *MARTIN Senior*. This HOSKINS wrought there very privately in a low Parlour, and was kept there under the name of an Imbroyderer, that the Servants might know nothing of the matter. When *MARTIN Junior* was printed, which was the 22d of July, this Examinate helped to make up those Books in a Bedchamber: and being so bound [*i.e. stitched*], NEWMAN carried thence at the least 700 or 800 of them. After within seven or eight days *MARTIN Senior* was there likewise printed. The Correcter of these two Bookes, this Examinate thinketh to be Master PENRY, who was there diuerse tymes by starts [*at intervals*], at Master WIGSTONS.

ff. At this Examinates coming first to Master WIGSTONS and fyndeing them printing these two Bookes, with that Lettre [*type*] that the *Supplication* [*to the Parliament*] was printed withall, he talked with Master PENRY, and sayd unto him, that yt wo[u]lde descry him to be *MARTIN*. Who made to this Examinate a careless answere, and so they past yt over.

gg. When the last Booke *MARTIN Senior* was finished, Master PENRY and Mistress WIGSTON were very earnest with HOSKINS to stay there, and to printe *more Worke for the Cooper*, which he refused to doe, because (as he sayd) he had promised his wyfe, to haue bene at home three weekes before that tyme. And another reason he gave to this Examinate, for that he misliked Master PENRYs Press.

hh. This Examinate further sayth, that Master WIGSTON was not of Counsell, with ye first begin[n]ing of the printing of these two Bookes, as Mistress WIGSTON told this Examinate, and further sayth, that the said Mistress WIGSTON told this Examinate, that she had desired of her Husband leaue to doe a piece of worke at his Howse, whereof he wo[u]lde be content to take no knowledge, and that she obteyned her desire. But afterwards Master WIGSTON vnderstood of the matter, and was very angry with his wyfe, but yet suffred them to finish that which they had begun.

ii. Who carried the Bookes of *MARTIN Senior* thence, this

Examinate knoweth not, only this he sayth, that he had bound [*packed*] up those Bookes for the Carrier of Warwick (as they sayd) to carry to London, and with the direction upon the pack, for their deliverance to one Lawrence Wood a Taylor dwelling at the end of Fish Street, to convey them to Newman.

kk. This Examinate upon Hoskins apprehension [*in August* 1589 *near Manchester*] asked Master Penry, being at Wolston, "what Bookes they were then in printing," who answered, "that he thought, they were printing the *Epistle* to *More Worke for the Cooper*." He asked likewise, "what Lettre [*type*] they had?" And his answere was, that "they had his own Letter, that *Martin Junior* and *Martin Senior* were printed withall." Whereunto this Examinate replying, "that both he and this place" (meaning Wolston) "would be more notoriously descryed," his Answere was, "that the Printers wolde salve that, those Lettres [*type*] being taken there, and saying [that] they [had] printed the other [*i.e. Martin Senior* and *Martin Junior*] in the same place likewise."

ll. Being demanded, whether Master Pigot of Coventry was privy to the printing of any of those Bookes, which were there printed. Answereth that of certain knowledge he is not able to charge him, howbeit he supposeth, that being so familiarly acquainted with Master Penry and Master Hales, he knew all those things as well at the least, as this Examinate.

mm. Being demanded upon occasion of some words heard at Master [John] Harrisons [*the Stationer*] in Pauls Church Yard, whether he were not certifyed that Master Pigot of Coventry did charge this Examinate as being the cause that his Howse was searched at Coventry, and that against Christian liberty he had done wickedly in taking his Oath before the Lord Chancelor. This Examinate answereth that he hath heard some such thinges, but can say nothing certainly of yt.

nn. Being further demanded, whether he had no reasons, than are above mentioned, whereby he was induced to thinke, that Penry was the Author of all the said Books of *Martin*. He answereth negatively: saving that he neuer saw or knew any other Man to deale in suche sorte as Penry did about

them. The Press wherein they were all printed was PENRYS, he was the Dealer with Men to print them, he had Books with the first, he could talk of them before they were printed, and of the tymes of their coming forth, he divided stakes (as this Examinate hath heard) with WAL[DE]GRAVE for the Second, third and fourth *MARTIN*, and afterwards he allowing of HOSKINS, after seven shillings a Reame for the printing (as the said HOSKINS told this Examinate) had the Commodity of the Sale of *MARTIN Junior* and *Senior* as he thinketh.

By me HENRY SHARPE

CHR: HATTON Canc:

An Introductory Sketch to the MARTIN MARPRELATE *Controversy.*

SECTION IV.

STATE DOCUMENTS ETC.

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	1588.	
I. 14 Nov.	Lord BURGHLEY's autographic Minutes of a letter to Archbishop WHITGIFT on the first appearance of the *Epistle*	107–108
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Lord Burghley's *autographic Minutes of a letter to Archbishop* Whitgift, *on the first appearance of the* Epistle: *dated 14th November* 1588.

Note that this Letter was written but ten days before the Queen went in state to St. Paul's to return thanks for the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

After our very harty Commendacions to your grace. Wher[eas] hir Maiestie hath vnderstandyng of a lewd and seditious book lately prynted as it should seme in secret manner, and as secretly dispersed by persons of vnquiet spyrrites; the Contentes of ye book being principally, to move a mislyke of ye present Government of this Church of England by ye Bishoppes and other Ecclesiasticall Governors and therewith also expressyng in a maliciouse man, ner sundry slanderous reports, ageynst your grace and ye rest of ye Bishoppes of ye realme; for yat hir Maiesty conceaveth of these kynd of seditious attemptes, if they sho[u]ld be suffered, wo[u]ld redound both to ye dishonour of God, to ye disturbance of ye peace of ye church, and a daungerous example to encourage privat[e] men in this covert manner to subvert all other kyndes of Gouernment vnder hir Maiesties charg[e], both in ye church and commen weale: vppon these considerations her Maiesty hath willed vs to signify to you yat though ye matter may be Judged in some part to concern

your selves, yet hir ple[a]sur[e] is yat your grace with the advise of some other of ye Bishops your brethren, should vse all privy meanes, by force of your Commission ecclesiasticall or otherwise, to serch out the authors hereof and the[i]r Complices, and ye pryntors and ye secret dispersers of ye same; and to cause them to be apprehended and committed. And therevpon to certify vs of your procedyngs so as We and others of hir Maiesties priv[i]e Counsell, as hir Maiesty shall please may procede ageynst all the offendors in this case, as in reason, honour, and in very Iustyce, shall be requisit.

And for your help as nede shall be, We have required by her Maiesties command our very good Lordes the Lord COBHAM and ye Lord BUCKHURST with Master WOOLLEY all of her Maiesties priv[i]e Counsell, to be aydyng with their advise and assistence to you for ye discouery of ye authors and abettors of the foresayd libellous book and so wo[u]ld we for our partes redely y[i]eld our labors ther[e]to, if we war[e] not so heavely occupied with the matters for comen Iustyce in this term, as is well known to your grace.

Endorsed.

14. No: 1588.

Minutes of a lettre to ye Archbishop of Canterbury.

from ye Lord Chancellour
Lord Threasurer.

To search for ye Authors and abettors of a Seditious book against ye Ecclesiastical Government of ye Church by Bishops.

Lansd. MS. 103, *fol.* 102.

II.

By the Queene.

A Proclamation against certaine seditious and Schismatical Bookes and Libels, &c.

Without doubt, the spur and motive to the putting forth of this Proclamation, was *Martin's Epitome* which had just appeared.

He Queenes most excellent Maiestie, considering howe with in these few yeeres past, and now of ate, certain seditious, and euill disposed persons towards her Maiestie and the Gouernment established for causes Ecclesiasticall within her Maiesties Dominions, haue deuised, written, printed, or caused to be seditiously and secretly published and dispersed, sundry schismatical and seditious bookes, diffamatorie Libels, and other fantasticall writings amongst her Maiesties Subiectes, containing in them doctrine very erronious, and other matters notoriously vntrue, and slaunderous to the State, and against the godly reformation of Religion and Gouernement Ecclesiasticall established by Lawe, and so quietly of long time continued, and also against the persons of the Bishoppes, and others placed in authoritie Ecclesiasticall vnder her Highnesse by her authoritie, in rayling sorte, and beyond the boundes of all good humanitie: All which Bookes, Libels, and writings tend by their scope, to perswade and bring in a monstrous and apparaunt daungerous Innouation within her dominions and Countries, of all manner Ecclesiasticall Gouernement now in vse, and to the abridging, or rather to the ouerthrowe of her Highnesse lawfull Prerogatiue, allowed by Gods lawe, and established by the Lawes of the Realme, and consequently to reuerse,

dissolue, and set at Libertie the present Gouernment of the Church, and to make a daungerous change of the forme of doctrine, and vse of Diuine seruice of God, and the ministration of the Sacraments nowe also in vse, with a rashe and malicious purpose also to dissolue the Estate of the Prelacie, being one of the three auncient estates of this Realme vnder her Highnesse, whereof her Maiestie mindeth to haue such a reuerend regard, as to their places in the Church and Common wealth appertaineth. All which saide lewde and seditious practises doe directly tend to the manifest wilfull breach of a great number of good Lawes and Statutes of this Realme, inconueniences nothing regarded by such Innouations.

In consideration whereof, her Highnesse graciously minding to prouide some good and speedy remedie to withstand such notable daungerous and vngodly attempts, and for that purpose to haue such enormious malefactors discouered and condignely punished, doeth signifie this her Highnesse misliking and indignation of such daungerous and wicked enterprises, and for that purpose doth hereby will, and also straightly charge and commaund, that all persons whatsoeuer, within any her Maiesties Realmes and Dominions, who haue, or hereafter shall haue any of the saide seditious Bookes, Pamphlets, Libels, or Writings, or any of like nature already published, or hereafter to be published, in his or their custodie, containing such matters as aboue are mentioned, against the present Order and Gouernment of the Church of England, or the lawfull Ministers thereof, or against the rites and ceremonies vsed in the Church, and allowed by the Lawes of the Realme: That they, and euery of them doe presently after, with conuenient speede bring in, and deliuer vp the same vnto the Ordinarie of the Diocesse, or of the place where they inhabite: to the intent that they may be vtterly defaced by the saide Ordinarie, or otherwise vsed by them. And that from henceforth no person or persons whatsoeuer, be so hardie, as to write, contriue, print or cause to be published or distributed, or to keepe any of the same, or any other Books, Libels, or Writings of like nature and qualitie, contrary to the true meaning and intent of this her Maiesties Proclamation. And likewise, that no man hereafter, giue any instruction, direction, fauour, or assistance to the contriuing, writing,

printing, publishing, or dispersing of the same, or such like Bookes, Libelles, or Writings whatsoeuer, as they tender her Maiesties good fauour, will auoyde her high displeasure, and as they will answere for the contrary at their vttermost perils: and vpon such further paines and penalties, as by the Lawe any way may be inflicted vpon the offendors, in any of these behalfes, as persons mainteining such seditious actions, which her Maiestie mindeth to haue seuerally executed. And if any person haue had knowledge of the Authors, Writers, Printers, or dispersers thereof, that shall within one moneth after the publication hereof, discouer the same to the Ordinarie of the place where he had such knowledge, or to any of her Maiesties priuie Counsell: the same person shall not for his former concealement be hereafter molested or troubled.

Giuen at her Maiesties Pallace of Westminster, the xiii. of Februarie, 1588 [*i.e.* 1589]. In the xxxi. yeere of her Highnesse reigne

God saue the Queene.

Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher *Barker, Printer* [*to*] *the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.* 1588 [*i.e.* 1589].

From an original copy of this Proclamation in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum. No. 6463, fol. 273.

III.

Archbishop WHITGIFT'S *autographic report to Lord* BURGHLEY *of the discovery of the Martinist Press by the Earl of* DERBY; *dated 24th August* 1589.

MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

DOctor SPRINT (whome your Lordship mentioned in your last letters) ys a man greatlie indetted; and by hys meanes, as I am informed, the Church of bristoll, whereof he ys Deane, standith also indetted to her maiestie for the tenthes and subsidies of that Dioces, in some good rownd some of monie. besides he ys noted to be a man of verie light and wanton behavior: And therefore I Do not think hym to be mete for a bishopprik.

I do vnderstand that the printers of certaine bokes of *MARTIN MARP*[*RELATE*].are sent vp by your Lordships beeing found printing northward by the Earle of DARBIE. I assuer my self that they shalbe De[a]lt with, ac[c]ording to the[i]re Desertes. The letters [*type*] wherewith they were now taken printing, are the same whereby *MARTEN Junior*, and *MARTEN senior*, as they terme them selfs, were printed: and therefore I dow[b]t not, but that the author of those vnchristian Libles, may by them be Detected.

I know how greatlie your Lordship Doth Detest such actions beeing against all Christianitie, and not to tollerated among the heathen. If wee weare such men as they wold make vs, wee weare not worthy to lyve, much lesse to inioy

owre places: and yet not to be vsed in that manner and sort.

for my owne parte, in respect of my self (the greatest moate in the[i]re Eye) I make smale account of the[i]re mallice, ne[i]ther Dyd I ever break slepe for the care thereof: yet in respect of my calling and profession, and of the scandall that may, by such Lewde Libles, be ministred to men apt to beleave anie thing, I could wish them de[a]lt with ac[c]ording to the[i]re Desertes, and the qualitie of the[i]re offens[e]: And that rather by your Lordships then by owre selfes, that the world may know that wee are men not cast off on all sydes, as abiects of the world, but that Justice shal as well take place in owre causes, as yt Doth in all other mens. the rather by cause wee susteane iniuries by Martynistes, for Doing of owre Duties in suppressing sectes and wicked opinions, and in ma[i]nteyning the state and government by lawe established, which ys wounded thorowe owre sydes.

And so with my heartie prayers to GOD for your Lordship. I committ you to His tuition / frome Canterbury, the. 24. of August, 1589.

your Lordships most assuered
Jo: Cantuar.

[*Addressed.*]

To the right honorable my verie good Lorde,
the Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England.

Lansd. MS. 61. *Art.* 3.

IV.

Summary of the information in the hands of the Queen's Government as to the Martinists on the 22nd September 1589.

Briefe instructions towchinge the Printer and place of Printinge [*of*] *the* 3 *first bookes of* MARTIN *and* ye Minerall Conclusions, *all beinge printed in a Dutch letter* [type].

IT is discovered, that one comminge aboute Hallowentyde [1 November 1588] and allso about Candlemas last [2 February 1589] to an acquayntance of his at Northampton, was both the sayde tymes broughte by his sayde frende to Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEYS to see the Printer of *MARTIN*, viz ROBARTE WALDE-GRAVE, of whom at both the sayde tymes he receyved some of the Libells newlye printed.[1] He was offred by his sayde frende to see allso *MARTIN*, as he termed him; but he did not, because he coulde not staye.

One of Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEYS men being at wyne about Easter last [30 March 1589] with an acquayntance of his in London, tolde him that he had then brought vp from his sayde Master to the Earle of HERTFORDE a letter and a little packett of writinges or bookes, which when ye Earle had seene, he willed the servante to tell his brother from him, that "he liked not that course": addinge, "that as they shoote at Bishopps now, so will they doe at the Nobilitie also, if they be suffred."

[1] [*i.e.* of the *Epistle* at the first visit in November 1588, and of the *Epitome*, about the 2nd February 1589.]

The sayde servante then also told vnto his acquayntance that the bookes were printed there; that *Martin* was there, and went apparelled in greene; and that ye paper, or such thinges they needed, were allwayes sent down from a Spurrier [*a maker of spurs*] dwellinge aboute Pie Corner neere West Smithfield, who sent thither and receyved thinges from thence.

Master Baker of Northampton tolde Sharpe, that some of the Libells were printed at Sir Richard Knightleys, and so there was a speeche. [John] Penrye resorted much to Sir Richard Knightleys.

Towchinge the printinge of the two last Libells in a litle Romaine and Italian [Italic] *letter* [type].

THe letter that these be printed in, is the same that did printe the *Demonstration of Discipline* aboute Midsommer was twelve moneth [24 *June* 1588] and was printed by Waldegrave neere Kingston vpon Thames, as is discovered.

When his other letters [*type*] and presse were defaced about Easter was twelve moneth [*i.e.* 13*th May* 1588] he saved these lettres [*type*] in a boxe under his Clo[a]ke, and brought them to Mistris Cranes howse in London, as is allso confessed; and they are knowen by printers to be Waldegraves letters [*type*]: And it is the same letter that was taken with Hodgkys.

These two last Libells came abroade in Julye [1589] last. Now it is confessed by the Carter, that John Hodgkys that is taken, did send from a gentlemans howse at Wolston in Warwikeshier vnto Warrington immediatlye after whitsontyde last [18 *May* 1589] a printinge presse, two boxes of letters, [*type*] a barell of incke, a baskett and a brasse pott, which were delyvered to him at Warrington.

When the Carier overtooke Hodgkys on Dunsmoore, there were two strangers with him. It is like[ly] they were workemen printers, whom he then brought with him from London; and it seemeth they were not the same that were

taken last with him, if they say true[ly] concernynge the tyme of his hiringe of them.

Hodgkys confessed to the Caryer, that the gent[leman] at Wolston, at whose howse he receyved the presse, did often harboure him a fourte-night together, and relieved him with meat, drinck and money.

This gentleman seemeth to be master Wigston, because (as wee heare) there dwelleth none other gent[leman] but he at Wolston. Allso he threatned the Bailiffe (beinge his tenante) that apprehended Sharpe there, that he would be revenged of him; and he is discovered to be an harbourer of Penrie and such like.

[It is] Confessed that Penrye sayde that Hodgkys printed the sayde two Libells called *Martin Junior*, and *Martin Senior*; and that he sett Hodgkys on worke. That Hodgkys aboute Easter last [30 *March* 1589] told Sharpe he had a presse, but would not name where; that at Penryes motion he would take the worke in hand in steed of Waldegrave who was gone: that Sharpe should shortlye heare more from him: that Penrye tolde Sharpe how Hodgkys was in printinge of a *Martin*; that he moved him to goe with him into the Northe to helpe Hodgkys in printinge, who refused; and that Penrye therevpon was missinge at Northampton by a space.

Towchinge the Cheife vtterers and publishers abrode of all the Libells.

Discovered by manye, that Humphrey Newman a Cobbler in London is the principall vtterer [*distributor*] of them, and hath had. 6. or. 7. hunderd at once of them. Sharpe confesseth that Penrye and this Newman are the Cheife vtterers of them; and that Newman about Midsommer last [24 *June* 1589] would haue had Sharpe into the Northe withe him vnto Hodgkys, to make vp the bookes after they were printed. Newman came often to Northampton vnto Penrye.

Towchinge the Authoure of these Libells.

THe authoure of the written copie [*the manuscript of "More Work for Cooper"*], that was taken by the Earl of Darbie, taketh vpon him to be the same, that made the first. 3. Libells, and the stile doth not varie.

That this last [*i.e. the manuscript work*] was contryved by Penrie besides the former presumptions (gathered of his owne speeches and dealinges in providinge a printer &c after Waldegrave his departure) the two handes vsed in the same doe seeme to be, the one Penryes, and the other his mans hande[writing][1]; as by a collation of such their writinges (as haue bene heretofore taken) may appeare.

The stile of it and spiritt of the man (where he is out of his scoffinge veyne) doth alltogether resemble such his writinges, as he hath published with his name to them. [See *p.* 188.]

In one or two places of it, where he mencioneth Penrye in the thirde person, there is a slipp vnto *the firste qerson*, as if the writer did speake of himselfe at unawares.

Doctour Some hath somethinge sharply confuted Penries fansies. Now this written Libell ["*More Work for Cooper*"] is very longe and most bitter and virulent againste him and his bookes.

It is confessed that Penrie hath sayde before any of these Libells came forthe, that a Noble man deceased did encourage him to write bitterlye against ye Bishops and that (if he were discovered) he should not be imprisoned by the [High] Commissioners but by some others for a fashion, and so shortly after delyvered.

Lansd. MS. 61. *Art.* 22.

[1 Matthew Sutcliffe stated in 1595 that this other man's handwriting, was that of Job Throkmorton, see p. 177]

An Introductory Sketch to the *Martin Marprelate Controversy.*

SECTION V.

The Brief held by Sir John Puckering, while Attorney General, against the Martinists.

[Mr. Baker's Transcript, *Harl. MS.* 7042, *pp.* 1–11.]

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Agaynst JOHN UDALL *late of Kingston [upon Thames], Minister.*

HENRY SHARPE deposeth, that PENRY (who appeareth to be a principal Dealer in all the action every where) told him, that the said UDALL was the Author of the *Demonstration of Discipline*, and NICHOLAS TOMKINS deposeth, that UDALL himself so confessed unto him.

The said TOMKINS further sayth, that he beleiveth UDALL was also the Author of the *Dialogue*, called, *DIOTREPHES*, because in a Catalogue of such Books, as the said UDALL had made, this Examinate sawe as well the said *Dialogue* as the *Demonstration* mentioned. And besides that, the said UDALL resorted sundrie times to Mistress CRANES Howse at Mowlsley, whilst PENRY and WAL[DE]GRAVE were there.

It is confessed by UDALL himself, that he resorted sometimes to Mistress CRANES Howse, at the tyme of the printing Press being there, but sayth, that if he should answere generally, whether any Books were there printed, then peradventure he might accuse himself, wherein he desired to be pardoned. [See *p.* 89.]

The said UDALL being then asked in particular whether he were not acquainted with the makeing of the *Demonstration of Discipline* and *DIOTREPHES*, answered that he desired to be pardoned for any Booke touching Discipline. And being further asked, whether those Books or any other Books were to his knowledge printed in Mistress CRANES Howse, or

what WAL[DE]GRAVE or PENRY did there, at such tymes as the said UDALL was there with them, he desired to be pardoned from answering those questions, and other answere he would not make.

STEPHEN CHATFEILD Vicar of Kingestone deposeth, that before the Comeing forth of the first *MARTIN* [*i.e. the Epistle*], he saw in UDALLs study certen written Papers importing such matter as is contained in that Lible, and sayth further, that about a fortnight before Michaelmas [15]88, the said UDALL in Conference with this Examinate sayd, It were best for the Bishops not to stop his mouthe, for if they did, he would then sett himself to writing, and gyve them such a blow, as they never had the lyke in their lyves.

Upon which points, UDALL himself, being examined, confesseth that some things contained in the first *MARTIN* [*the Epistle*] proceeded from his reporte, but sayth he knoweth not how they came in writing. And yet being asked, whether he made not [a] collection of some things that are conteyned in that Booke, and whether he did not show those his Collections to Master FEILD and Master CHATFEILD or to either of them, sayth, that he did. [See *p.* 91.]

The said UDALL further confesseth, that he told Master CHATFEILD, if the Bishops restrained him and others from preaching, then they would give them occasion to employ themselves in writing the more against their government.

II.

Against Elizabeth Crane *alias* Carleton *Widowe.*

NICHOLAS TOMKYNS deposeth, that about May [15]88, WAL[DE]GRAVE brought a Case of Lettres [*type*] to Mistress CRANES Howse in London, and the same being taken from thence, a Load of Stuff was layd in her Howse at Mowlsey at ye request of PENRY, wherein those Lettres were, as this Examinate believeth.

But JEFFS, who about Hallotide [1 *November* 1588] following fetched that load of Stuff, from Mistress CRANES, deposeth, that at the loading thereof, appered to him small things of lead or Iron, as they semed, which PENRY sayd were Lettres [*type*].

The said TOMKINS deposeth, that while the loade of Stuff remained at Mistress CRANES Howse, PENRY and WAL[DE]-GRAVE continued there about three weeks after Midsommer. [24 June 15]88: and were there also about Michaelmas following [29 September 1588]. And that Master UDALL late Precher at Kingston resorted sundry tymes to the same Howse, within that space, when this Examinate beleiveth they were printing some Books there.

HENRY SHARPE sayth that the first *MARTIN* was printed at Kingston, as he gathered by PENRYS words, and that WAL[DE]GRAVE printed it there, and that The *Demonstration of Discipline*, was about that tyme printed there.

The said Mistress CRANE being called before the Commission to be examined upon these matters, refused to answere vpon oath to any question, either concerning her self, for that, as she sayd, "she would not be her own Hangman," or concerning others, for that "she could not in her Conscience, be an Accuser of others."

III.

Against Robert Wal[de]grave *Printer.*

Icholas Tomkins deposeth, that shortly after Wal[de]graves own Lettres [*type*] were defaced (which by a Record of the Stationers [Company] a[p]pereth to be done the 13th : of May [15]88) the said Wal[de]grave brought a Case of Lettres [*type*] to Mistress Cranes Howse in London : And the same being after fetcht from thence by Wal[de]graves Wyef, a load of Stuff was layd at Mistress Cranes Howse at Mowlsley, wherein this Examinate beleiveth these Lettres [*type*] were.

And Jeffs deposeth, that at the carrying of that stuff from Mistress Cranes, appered unto him small things of lead or Iron, which Penry sayd were Lettres [*type*].

The said Nicholas Tomkins further sayth, that the said Wal[de]grave was with Penry about three weeks at Mistress Cranes Howse at Mowlsley after Midsommer [15]88 : and also about Michaelmas [1588] following, at which tymes this Examinate beleiveth Wal[de]grave and Penry were printing some Books there, for the first Booke of *Martyn* [*i.e. the Epistle*] being printed, Wal[de]grave offered to this Examinate the sale of a nombre of them.

Henry Sharpe to this agreeth, who sayth, that Penry told him that Wal[de]grave printed the first *Martyn*, and that at Kingston, as he gathered by Penrys words.

The said Henry Sharpe sayth that Wal[de]grave had conference with Sir Richard Knightley at a Muster in Northampton, and shortly after, this Press was carried to Sir Richard Knightleys Howse at Fawsley, where the *Epitome* was printed by Wal[de]grave, as Humphrey Newman told this Examinate; which is confirmed by Sir Richard Knightley himself, who confesseth, that the Booke

called the *Epitome* was printed in his Howse by Wal-[de] grave; and by Lawrence Jackson Keper of Fawsley House, who sayth that Wal[de]grave wrought there under a feigned name of Sheme or Shamuel, and under pretence of sorting Sir Richard Knightleys Evidences [*title deeds*]: and by Edward Sharpe the Minister of Fawsley, who going to visit Wal[de]graves man being sick in Fawsley House, found new printed papers of *Martin Mar-prelate*, lying in the Chamber, and also a Printing Press there standing; and sayth that the titles of the Books or papers which he found so printed was, the *Epitome*, whereof this Examinate tooke one Booke and carried it to Sir Richard Knightley advertiseing him, what was done in his Howse.

Master Hales deposeth, that the person which brought him Sir Richard Knightleys Lettre, to have a rome in his Howse at Coventrie was the same person that printed there, whome he thinketh to be Wal[de]grave. But Henry Sharpe directly sayth, that the Press being setled at Master Hales Howse, Wal[de]grave there printed, first the *Minorall Conclusions*, which came forth in February [1589] last, next the *Supplication*, which came forth in Midlent [*9th March* 1589], and afterwards the Booke, entituled *Have you any Worke for the Cooper*, which came forth about Palme Sunday [*23rd March* 1589]: and further sayth, that of the first sort of Books Wal[de]grave sent to this Examinate a thousand to be bounde for him [*This is an error, see p.* 97], of the Second sorte Newman brought him the like nombre, and of the third Newman brought him about 700.

The said Henry Sharpe moreover deposeth, that in Easter week [*30th March—5th April* 1589] last Wal[de]grave told him, that then all was dispatched, and the Mill was not then going, for that was the Phrase of ye printing, and further seyd, that he would no longer deale in that course, for that he had gotten Master Cartwrights [*New*] *Testament* against the Jesuits, which he sayd, he would print in Devonshire. And being asked by this Examinate, how [it] chanced he looked so pale, He the said Wal[de]grave answered, that one of Master Hales men kept him so closely at worke, that for a tyme he had lyved as in a Prison.

IV.

Against JOHN PENRY.

NICHOLAS TOMKINS deposeth, that PENRY moved Mistress CRANE, that he might bestow a Load of Stuff in her House, in which Load of Stuff the printing Press and Lettres were. The same Examinate further sayth, that the said PENRY and WAL[DE]GRAVE the Printer were about three weeks, at Mistress CRANES Howse in Mowlsley after Midsummer [15]88: and were there also about Michaelmas [1588] following, at which tymes this Examinate thinketh, they were printing some Books there.

And he further sayth, that he harde PENRY say to Mistress CRANE (fearing some trouble by receyving the load of Stuff, wherein the Press was) that he would finde ye meanes to carry the same away to Northamptonshire.

And HENRY SHARPE sayth, that PENRY talked with him, concerning the fetching of the Press from Kingston, fearing it was known to be there, and afterwards sent on[e] JEFFS of Upton to fetch the said Press from thence in his Carte.

The said JEFFS confesseth, the fetching of a carriage, at Mistress CRANES Howse, at the request of PENRY about Hallowmas [15]88: at the loading whereof, this Examinate sayth, appeared to him small things of Lead or Iron, as they seemed, which PENRY sayd were Lettres.

Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEY deposeth, that a little before Michaelmas [15]88; PENRY came to him, and moved him, that he might have a Ro[o]me in his Howse, to print such a like Booke, as he had before made, concerning *the unlerned Ministri of Wales*: whereupon he sayth, that the Booke called the *Epitome*, was printed in his Howse.

JEFFS deposeth, that the load of Stuff, which by PENRYS appointment, he receyved at Mistress CRANES, he carried by ye said PENRYS direction to Fawlsley.

And LAWRENCE JACKSON, Ke[e]per of Fawlsley House

deposeth, that about a fortnight or three weeks after Hallowmas [*i.e. about 15th to 20th of November*] [15]88, Penry came unto him, bringing Sir Richard Knightleys Ring, with [a] message for the receyving of a load of Stuff into Fawlsley House, which Jeffs within one Houre or two after brought thither.

Master Hales deposeth, that Penry first brought him to the place in his own Howse at Coventry, where the Press was bestowed.

John Hodgkins deposeth, that when Newman sent him from London into the Country to print, he delivered this Examinate [*i.e.* Hodgkins] a Lettre unto Penry then lying at Master Throckmortons Howse, and coming thither he received another Lettre from Penry, or by his delivery unto Mistress Weekston for the entertainment of the print there. He further sayth, that Penry told him at Master Throckmortons, that a Booke should come to his hands, ready for the printe, and sayth, that in the company of Penry, walking with him on the way from Master Throckmortons toward Warwick, he found a Roll of paper, conteyning the Booke [*i.e. the manuscript* of *Martyn Junior*].

The said Hodgkins further deposeth, that he receyved the Copy [*i.e. manuscript*] of *Martyn Senior* at Penrys hands, in the Howse of Master Weekston, and that the Copy [*manuscript*] of *More Worke for the Cowper*, was by agreement let fall in a voyd [*empty*] Chamber in Master Weekstons Howse by the said Penry and Newman of purpose that it should come to this Examinates hands.

The said Hodgkins further deposeth, that the hand [*i.e. handwriting*] wherewith those Books were written, is the same or very like to the hande where with Penry corrected the print [*i.e. the proofs*], and that Symmes the Composer [*compositor*] fynding fault with a parte of one of those Books, as being without sense, Penry tooke upon him, to put that out, and to write that, which should supply the same.

The said Penry, as Hodgkins sayth, payd him 5 lib [£5] for the printing of *Martyn Junior* and *Martyn Senior*; and Symmes and Tomlyn depose, that Penry gave his worde vnto them for the payment of their wages, being workmen at ye Press, vpon condition, that they would be faythfull unto Hodgkins.

Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEY sayth, that he knoweth no Author of the Boke printed in his Howse, unless it were PENRY. And Master HALES sayth, that he thinketh PENRY to be the Author of ye *Supplication to ye Parliament*, printed in his Howse.

PETER GREYE servant to Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEY sayth, that he taketh PENRY to be *MARTYN*, who went disguised in a long skye coloured Cloak, or of a light colour, and had the Coller of the said Cloak edged with goulde and Silver and Silke Lace, and a light coloured Hatt, with an arming Sworde by his side.

HENRY SHARPE sayth, that PENRY shewed him the *Minorall Conclusions* in written hand, before they were printed, and that he thinketh PENRY to be the Author of diverse of the other Books, for that certen things are conteyned in them, which PENRY uttered to this Examinate before the Books were printed, and for that PENRY being told by this Examinate, that he coniectured some of the Books to be made by him, denied it not, but laughed; saving of ye first *MARTYN*, PENRY sayd, some notes were found in Master FYELDS study.

Moreover the said HENRY SHARPE deposeth, that he never saw, nor knew any other Man to busye himself so much about the Books as PENRY did, for he was the Dealer with Men to print them, the Press was his wherein they were printed, he had the Books with the first, he could ta[l]ke of them before they were printed and of the tymes of their coming forth, he divided stakes with WAL[DE]GRAVE the Printer, and allowing HODGKINS after 7sh. a Reame for printing, had the Commodity of the Sale of the Books, as this Examinate hath h[e]arde and believeth.

V.

Against Sir Richard Knightley.

N his own Examination he doth confess that a little before Michaelmas was twelvemonth [*i.e. September* 1588], Penry came unto him, and moved him that he might have a Ro[o]me in his House, to print a like Booke, to that which he had before made, concerning *the unlerned Ministri of Wales*, and that one Jeffs a Tenant, or his Sonne, as he h[e]ard, brought the printing Press to his House at Fawlesley, where a Booke called the *Epitome* was printed, from whence the Press was carried to his Howse at Norton about Christmas [1588] last. And touching the Author of the Booke, he knoweth not, unless yt were Penry: And lykewyse sayth, that Wal[de]grave was the Printer.

And further he confesseth, that Newman the Cobler had his lyverie and co[g]nisance; and that Stephen his Servant carried the Press and Lettres [*type*] from Norton to Coventrie, to ye House of John Hales Esquire.

And this much appe[a]reth by his own Confession./

It is deposed by witnesses against him as followeth/

And first by Henry Sharpe. That Wal[de]grave the Printer had conference with Sir Richard Knightley at a Muster in Northampton, and shortly after the Press was carried to Sir Richard Knightleys Howse at Fawsley in Northamptonshire by one Jeffs of Upton, Tenant to Master Valentyne Knightley, where the *Epitome*, which is ye second Booke of *Martyn*, was printed by Wal[de]grave, as Humfrey Newman told this Examinate.

The said Jeffs being examined upon this poynte, sayth, that the load of Stuffe which by Penries appointment he received at Mistress Cranes Howse in Mowseley, he carried by the said Penries direction to Fawsley and left it with

one JACKSON Ke[e]per of Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEYS House at Fawlsley.

LAWRENCE JACKSON Ke[e]per of the said Howse deposeth, that about a fortnight or three weeks after Hollomas [*i.e.* 15–20 *November* 1588] was twelvemonth, PENRY came unto him, bringing a Ring of three Gymawes [? *gems*] of Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEYS this Examinates Master, with this Message, "that Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEY by that token willed this Examinate to take in a Load of Stuff into Fawsley Howse," which load one JEFFS, within one houre or two brought thither in Baskets, saving one thing like a black Stone, that was not in the Baskets, and the same this Examinate sayth He bestowed in the Nursery and delivered the Keye unto PENRY. The Stuffe being there placed, there came to the Howse within one or two dayes after, [one] nameing himself SHEME or SHAMNE or by such like name, and a Servant with him; who told this Examinate, that they had evidences of his Masters to view and to sorte. This SHEME, STEPHEN GYFFORDE another servant of Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEY, nameth by his true name WAL[DE]GRAVE.

STEPHEN GYFFORD deposeth the Carriage of the Press from Fawlsley about two or three dayes [*8th* or *9th*] after Twelve tide [*i.e. after 6th January* 1589] last, and further sayth, that he conveyed ye same first to a Farme House of the said Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEYS in Norton, where yt remained about a fortnight, but was not occupied in yat tyme, as he sayth.

And after that fortnight ended [*i.e. about 23rd January* 1589], the said STEPHEN GYFFORD confessed, that he conveyed the same Press to the Howse of Master HALES in Coventrye, by the Commandment of the said Sir RICHARD, and with his Carte and Horses.

Master HALES being examined sayth, that Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEY shortly after Christmas 1588 [*i.e. 6th January* 1589] sent him a Lettre by WAL[DE]GRAVE thereby requiring this Examinate to suffer this Bearer to haue ro[o]me in this Examinates Howse in Coventrye for a tyme, untill he could otherwise provide.

VI.

Against Humfrey Newman *alias* Brownebread *Cobler.*

John Wright late Servant to Sir Richard Knightley, sayth that Humfrey Newman used to resort to his Master his Howse, first in a green Cloak and a grene Hat, and within a short tyme after did wear Sir Richard Knightley his Livery.

Which Peter Graye another Servant to Sir Richard Knightley also deposeth, adding that he thinketh, Newman was the disperser of the Bookes.

Henry Sharpe deposeth, that of the Books printed at Master Hales Howse in Coventrye, Humfrey Newman brought him on[e] thousand intitled the *Supplication to the Parliament*, and also about 700: of the Books called *Hey you any Worke for the Cowper*, both which nombres of Bookes, the said Newman receyved again except some few left with this Examinate.

The said Henry Sharpe further deposeth, that of the Books intitled *Martin Junior*, the said Newman carried from Master Weekstons Howse 700 or 800, and the other of *Martin Senior* were bound up for the Carrier of Warwick to convey to London.

Lawrence Wood sayth. that Newman told him, that there was a Packe of Leather at the *Sarazins Head* in Friday Street, which Packe indeede was a Packe of Books, that first came from Warwick to Banbrie [*Banbury*], and from Banbury to London. And further sayth, that Newman gave him 5 sh: over night to pay for carriage of that Packe, and gave him 6d to pay a Porter to carry it to a Howse near the Tilted Yard, and likewise that over night Newman and he had conference touching the same packe. And that he this Examinate did know at that tyme, that Newman was a Common disperser and Carrier of *Martins* Books.

VII.

Against Master JOHN HALES *Gentleman.*

THE said HALES upon the recei[p]t of Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEYS Lettre did admit WAL[DE]GRAVE to his Howse at Coventrye, and delivered unto him the keys thereof, and was afterwards brought by PENRY to the place, where the Press stood, and after the printing received a Booke there printed, called, *The Supplication to the Parliament.* This much doth appere by his own Confession.

It is deposed by HENRY SHARPE, that the Press being setled at Master HALES Howse, WAL[DE]GRAVE there printed three Books viz. *The Minerall Conclusion[s]*, *The Supplication to the Parliament* and *Have you any worke for the Cowper.*

VIII.

Against Roger Weekston [*or* Wigston] *Gentleman.*

T appeareth by his own Confession, that his Wyef moved him, that Hogdkings might doe a peece of worke in his Howse, which himself saw not, but h[e]arde afterwards that *Martin Junior* and *Martin Senior* were there printed in a lowe[*? sunk*] Parlouré of his Howse, which Books he did see, and read ye tites thereof, and also had one of them read unto him, but he sayth he misliked it.

Mistress Weekston sayth, that her Husband had one of the said Bookes; and one of the Printers sayth, that Master Weekston gave them 2 sh. at their departure.

IX.

Against Mistress Weekston *Wyef of the said* Roger Weekston.

He confesseth that *Martin Junior* and *Martin Senior* were printed in her Howse, that her self was the Mover of printing Books in her Howse by generall sp[e]eches, but to whome she remembreth not. That the Press remained in her Howse many weeks, and the printing continued about a fortnight.

The said Mistress Weekston further sayth, that after the printing of those two Books [*on 22nd and 29th July* 1589], she wished the Printers to stay to print some better Books, and that talke was for printing, *More Worke for the Cowper.*

She further sayth, that her self had thrēe Books of *Martin Junior* and *Martin Senior*, and that she gave meat and drinke to the Printers, whilst they were there, and at their departure gaue them 2sh. 6d. a peece, as the Printers depose.

X.

Against Job Throckmorton *Gentleman.*

OHN HODGKINS the Printer and now Prisoner in the Tower deposeth, that when NEWMAN sent him from London into the Country to print, he directed this Examinate unto Master THROCKMORTONS Howse, and delivered this Examinate a Lettre unto PENRY, whom he sayd this Examinate should finde at Master THROCKMORTONS.

The said HODGKINGS further deposeth, that after he had lyen at Master THROCKMORTONS one night, and dyned there the next day, in his departure from thence towards Warwick, about one birdebowe shot from the said Master THROCKMORTONS House, this Examinate walking with PENRY, saw lying before him in ye way a Roll of paper wrapped up together, and layd there of purpose by some other, as this Examinate thinks, against this Examinate should come that way, which Roll this Examinate tooke up conteyning the Copie [*manuscript*] of *Theses Martianæ*, otherwise called *MARTYN Junior.*

The said HODGKINS further sayth, that he receyved a Lettre at Master THROCKMORTONS House, by ye deliuery of PENRY for his entertainment by Mistress WEEKSTON.

VALENTYNE SYMMES deposeth, that Master THROCKMORTON coming with PENRY to the Printers in Master WEEKSTONS Howse, and looking upon the written Copy, which was interlined in diverse places, he asked SYMMES, if he could read the same places, pointing him unto them, among which [there] being two wherein SYMMES doubted, the said Master THROCKMORTON did presently read them distinctly and plainly, and found fault with the orthography.

At the same tyme also SYMMES as he sayth, ouerh[e]ard Master THROCKMORTON askinge HODGKINS softly in the eare, whether the same SYMMES and TOMLYN were good workemen and able to serve the tourne.

It is to be noted, that the said HODGKINS in diverse of his examinations, went about to conceale his being at Master THROCKMORTONS for delivering or freeing of him from suspicion of any such matter.

XI.

Against John Hodgkins, Valentine Symmes, *and* Arthur Tomlyn.

HENRY SHARPE deposeth, that after WAL[DE]GRAVES departure, PENRY procured HODGKINS now Prisoner in the Tower, to supply WAL[DE]GRAVES place in printing, and sayth that within a fortnight after Midsommer [1589] last, this Examinate founde HODGKINS at worke in Master WEEKSTONS Howse, printing of *MARTIN Junior* and *MARTIN Senior*, and working there privately, under ye name of an Embroderer.

HODGKINS himself examined, confesseth, that being moved by NEWMAN to print, he consented thereunto, receyved NEWMANS Lettres directed to PENRY lying at Master THROCKMORTONS House, tooke PENRYS Lettres there to Mistress WEEKSTON, and then repayred to the Howse of Master WEEKSTON at Wollaston, where he and his two Men SYMMES and TOMLYN printed the Books of *MARTYN Junior* and *MARTIN Senior* with the Press and Lettres [*type*] which they found at Master WEEKSTONS. And his two Men also confessed, they printed the same Books, at ye same place, though hardly they could be perswaded to confess so much, because as they declared in ye end, HODGKINS had taken an Oath of them not to reveale the Books, which they should print for him.

The said HODGKINS and his Men also confess their beginning to print the Booke, Called, *More Worke for the Cowper*, in Newton Lane [*now called Oldham Road*] near Manchester, and that they had printed thereof about a Six Quires of one side, before they were apprehended.

The said SIMMES and TOMLYN depose, that HODGKINS told them the next Booke, or the next but one, which they had to print, should be in Latin, and that there was another parte

of *More Worke for the Cowper*, which should serve them to print another tyme, for this was but the first parte of that said Booke, and the other parte was almoste as big again.

The said SYMMES deposeth, that while HODGKINS himself and TOMLYN were coming up to London [*i.e. as prisoners*], HODGKINS told him, that notwithstanding their Press and Lettres [*type*] were taken, "yet," sayd he, "we haue as you know a Press at Master WEEKSTONS and some Lettres [*type*], and also two sortes [*sizes*] of Lettres [*type*] at a Marchants Howse in London, which were bought of WAL[DE]GRAVE.

An Introductory Sketch to the MARTIN MARPRELATE Controversy.

SECTION VI.

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1588-1595 A.D.

Die Saturn[i]ix^th of November. / [1588]

THOMAS ORWYN./

Llowed vnto him likewyse to prynte vnder th[e h]andes of Doctour STALLARD and master warden DENHAM a ballade intytuled *MARTYN said to his man, whoe is the foole nowe.* vj^d /

10 Januarij [1589]

Master RAFFE NEWBERY

Alowed vnto him vnder the Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURIES hand *An admonition to the people of England* [By THOMAS COOPER, Bishop of WINCHESTER]: Master COLDOCKES hand being to the copie vj^d

Die Lun[a]e Tertio Die marcij. / [1589]

GREGORYE SETON./

Allowed vnto him vnder the handes of th[e]archbishop of CANTERBURY and bothe the wardens, *A Sermon preched At Paules Crosse* by Doctor BANCKROFT *the firste sonday of the parlyament Anno Supradicto* [*i.e.* 9 *February*, 1589]. / *in curia* vj^d /

24° die maij [1589]

Master BISHOP / Entred for his Copie A booke intituled *A godlie treatise wherein are examined and Confuted many execrable fancies gyven out and holden partely by* HENRIE BARROWE *and* JOHN GREENEWOOD *partlie by other of the Anabaptisticall order.* [By ROBERT SOME.] Allowed vnder th[e h]andes of the [Arch] Bishop of CANTERBURY and master warden COLDOCK. vj[d] /

Die Saturni Septimo die Junij [1589]

JOHN WOLF/ Entred for his Copie a booke intytuled *A bayte for* MOMUS *and his mates &c.* [By TOBIE BLAND] vnder the Archbushop of CANTERBURIE his hande. [*no sum stated.*]

Tertio die Julij / [1589]

Master BISHOP, and master NEWBERY Warden./ Entred for their Copie A Book intytuled, *Anti*[-]*MARTINUS, sive monitio cuiusdam Londiniensis, ad Adolescentes vtriusque Academiæ contra personatum quendam rabulam qui se Anglice,* MARTIN MARPRELAT *nominat.*

vnder the hand of master warden NEWBERY. vj[d] /

22 Decembris [1589]

JOHN WOLF. Entred for his copie vnder the Bysshop of LONDON his hand and the Wardens: *A Myrrour for Martynistes &c* [by T. T.]

vj[d]

.19. Januarij [1590]

John Wolf. Entred for his copie, a booke intituled *an admonicion to MARTIN MARPRELAT and his mates:* [by Leonard Wright.] Aucthorised vnder the bysshop of LONDONS hand vj[d]

entred in court. beinge present the master and Wardens.

xxviij° Octobris [1590]

Richard Jones./ Entred for his Copie vnder th[e h]andes of Master Docter Thorneton and the wardens *Sir MARTEN MARR-PEOPLE his Coller of Esses, or symple SYM-SOOTH-SAIER his scrole of abuses* [By John Davies.] vj[d]

iij° Julij [1591]

Master Bisshopp. Master Newbery. *Item* Entred vnto them *a Remonstrance to the 'Demonstration of Discipline.'* vj[d]

xvj^to die Junij [1595]

Master Bisshop. Master Newberry. Master Barker. Entred for their Copie vnder th[e h]andes of the lorde Arch Bisshop of Canterbury his grace and the wardens a booke entituled *An answere vnto a certein calumnious letter published by Master Job Throkmorton and entituled* 'a defence of J. Throkmorton against the sclauuders of Master Sutcliffe/.' *wherein the vanytie both of the defence of him self and the accusation of others is manifestly declared* by Mathew Sutcliffe [See *p.* 175.] vj[d]

II.

William Camden.

Notice of the Controversy.

ENgland being now freed from the present feare of a forreine Warre, found not her selfe so happily deliuered of an inward *Schisme*; For schismaticall impiety waxeth alwaies insolent when any Warres be stirring, nor euer did shamelesse and rebellious impudence, and outragious malice more insolently beard the *Ecclesiasticall Magistracie:*

For whereas the Queene, who was

EVER THE SAME,

was very vnvilling to innouate any thing in Religion, thinking it the way to cut the nerues of the Ecclesiasticall administration, and the *Royall Prerogatiue:* some, which onely admired the discipline of the *Church of Geneua*, iudging that there was no better way to establish it, than by blazoning the *English Hierarchie*, and bringing the Prelates in hatred with the people, did in scurrilous maner spit out their slanderous venome against this *Hierarchie*, by certain iniurious printed Bookes, which carryed the Titles of

Martin Mar-Prelate, or
A Whip for the Prelates,
Minerales Diotrephes *demonstration of Discipline, &c.*[1]

Martin Mar-Prelate, and other scandalous Bookes.

That the Authors of them seemed not to be the professors of Pietie, but raythe Roysters: neuerthelesse, they were Ministers, the one named *Penry* and the other *Vdall;* and *Iob Throckmorton* a learned man, but a merry conceited fellow: and had for their fautors or supposts *Sir Richard Knightlie*, and Sir [*or rather* Master] *R. Wigston*, worshipfull knights, graue and prudent personages (who had beene seduced by like Ministers) and had bin fined deepe in the Starre Chamber, in case the Arch-Bishop of *Canterburie*, according to his accustomed goodnesse and mildenesse, had not with much adoe appeased the Queene.

Annales of Elizabeth, i. 290. *Ed.* 625.

[1] These muddled titles are but a testimony of Camden's imperfect acquaintance with this Dispute. He but expresses the hitherto orthodox account of it. The Star Chamber fines were not only inflicted but enforced, see p. 145.

III.

Doctor Gabriel Harvey.

Suspected of being Martin. Attack on Tom Nash.

T was Martins folly, to begin that cutting vaine: some others ouersight, to continue it: and doubble Vs triump, to set it agogg. If the world should applaude to such roisterdoisterly Vanity (as Impudency hath beene prettily suffered to sett-vp the creast of his vaineglory:) what good could grow of it, but to make euery man madbrayned, and desperate; but a generall contempt of all good order, in Saying, or Dooing; but an Vniuersal Topsy-turuy? He were a very simple Oratour, a more simple politician, and a most simple Deuine, that should fauour Martinizing: but had I bene Martin, (as for a time I was vainely suspected by such madd Copesmates, that can surmize any thing for their purpose, howsoeuer vnlikely, or monstrous:) I would haue beene so farre from being mooued by such a fantasticall Confuter, that it should haue beene one of my May-games, or August-triumphes, to haue driuen Officials, Commissaries, Archdeacons, Deanes, Chauncellors, Suffraganes, Bishops, and Archbishops, (so Martin would haue florished at the least) to entertaine such an odd light-headded fellow for their defence; a professed iester, a Hick-scorner, a scoff-maister, a playmunger, an Interluder; once the foile of Oxford, now the stale of London, and euer the Apesclogg of the presse, *Cum Priuilegio perennitatis.* Had it not bene a better course, to haue followed Aristotles doctrine: and to haue confuted leuity with grauity, vanity with discretion, rashnes with aduise, madnesse with sobriety, fier with water, ridiculous Martin with reuerend Cooper? Especially in Ecclesiastical causes: where it goeth hard, when Scoggin, the Iouiall foole, or Skelton the Malancholy foole, or Elderton the bibbing foole, or Will Sommer the chollericke foole, must play the feate; and Church-matters cannot bee discussed without rancke scurrillity, and as it were a Synode of Diapason fooles.—*Pierce's Supererogation &c, pp.* 74-75. *Ed.* 1593.

IV.

Doctor H. Sampson.

Notes as to J. Hales and J. Throckmorton.

From W. Herbert's Edition of Ames's *Typographical Antiq. p.* 1464. *Ed.* 1790.

Doctor H. Sampson in his MS. papers of *Lives*, in the account of the Ministers of Coventry since the Reformation, divided in Decades: in Decade the 5th, from 1580 to 1590, has the following passage—

Nother matter that procured an ill aspect upon the town was the printing of *Martin Marprelate Junior*[1] in it: which though it was done without the knowledge or approbation of any in the town; yet the place and the people was upon this mere occasion reflected on.

The story was thus. Master Hales of White Fryers had now his house standing empty, whilst himself lived elsewhere. Master [*i.e.* Sir R.] Knightley, his cousin, took that opportunity to borrow his house for a divertisement for a month or two, or other pretence; which when it was granted, Master [*i.e.* Sir R.] Knightley privately conveyed thither the printing press and letters; and in a back chamber—which is well remembered and marked to this day—the book was printed off. It cannot be denied that this house stands remote from neighbours, being uninhabited at that time; and that chamber, removed from the housekeeper's usual residence, was well chosen for this purpose.

But it was discovered afterwards, I suppose by the printers, who being taken in Lancashire confessed other places where the ambulatory press had been and the persons that employed them; sufficiently to Master Hales's cost.

[1] *Martin Junior* was not printed at Mr. Hale's house at Coventry, but at Mr. Wigston's at Woolston. See *pp.* 132-3.

First, for the fact of lending his house, though altogether ignorant of the use it should be put to; yet upon suspicion of his guilt, he was fined £1,500; and afterwards compounded with the Queen, and actually paid £500.

Yet after this, the officers not having registered the composition and payment of the money, his grandson Master John Hales in King James' days, was called upon again to pay the fine; which he had certainly done, if after many days' solicitous seek the "discharge" in vain, he had not found it at last very accidentally among papers that were destined to waste or burning.

One person more about the printing of this unhappy book, Amongst others that were accused of having a hand in it. Master [Job] Throckmorton was one. And being sent for by a messenger, who in his yard [at Haseley, near Warwick] meeting with a man or rather shadow and case of a man that was little removed from a mere natural, askt him "Where Master Throckmorton was?" He answered "He is just gone into Scotland." "When?" said the messenger?" "Just now!" said the fool. Now the fool meant only the house of office [*W. C.*], which in the language of the servants of that house was called "Scotland;" where Throckmorton then was skulking, and over heard all this discourse. The rest of the wiser servants by that time were so well alarmed of the messenger and his errand that they would discover nothing in particular of him. So that the messenger taking it for granted that children and fools speak true, and that he was gone indeed into Scotland, went away with this account of his message to him that sent him: by which means he escaped a troublesome journey, and had opportunity to stave off and weather out that trouble, which by a sudden surprize had accidentally come upon him.

Waldegrave and Legate both lived in the parish of St. Alban's Wood Street.

Doctor H. Sampson's papers in Doctor Williams' Library in Redcross Street [*now Grafton Street East, Gower Street*] London [*W.C.*]

V.

The Rev. WILLIAM RAWLEY, D.D., Lord BACON's first and last chaplain, and literary executor, exercised a wise discretion in deferring the publication of this truly admirable paper till 1657: *i.e.* until the power for evil of the Bishops had been broken.

Lord BACON.

An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England.

IT is but ignorance if any man find it strange that the state of religion, especially in the days of peace, should be exercised and troubled with controversies. For as it is the condition of the Church militant to be ever under trials, so it commeth to pass that when the fiery trial of persecution ceaseth, there succeedeth another trial; which, as it were, by contrary blasts of Doctrine doth sift and winnow men's faith, and proveth whether they know GOD aright; even as that other, of afflictions, discovereth whether they love Him better than the world.

Accordingly, was it foretold by CHRIST, saying "That in the latter times, it should be said; Lo here! Lo there is CHRIST!" which is to be understood, not as if the very person of CHRIST should be assumed and counterfeited; but his authority and preeminence—which is to be Truth itself—should be challenged and pretended. Thus have we read and seen to be fulfilled that which followeth, *Ecce in deserto, ecce in penetralibus*; while some have sought the Truth in the conventicles and conciliables of heretics and sectaries, others in the extern face and representation of the Church; and both sorts have been seduced.

Were it then that the controversies of the Church of England were such as they did divide the Unity of the Spirit, and not only such as do unswathe her of her bands (the bands of Peace) yet could it be no occasion for any pretended Catholick to judge us, or for any irreligious person to despise us: or if it be, it shall but happen to us all as it hath used to do—To them to be hardened; and to us to endure the good pleasure of GOD.

But now that our contentions are such as we need not so much that general canon and sentence of CHRIST propounded against heretics, *Erratis, nescientes Scripturas et potestatem DEI*, "You do err, not knowing the Scripture and the power of GOD;" as we need the admonition of Saint JAMES, "Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath." And that the wound is no way dangerous, except we poison it with our remedies; as the former sort of men have less reason to make [to] themselves music in our discord: so I have good hope that nothing shall displease ourselves, which shall be sincerely and modestly propounded for the appeasing of these dissensions. For if any shall be offended at this voice, *Vos estis fratres*, "Ye are brethren, why strive ye?" he shall give a great presumption against himself that he is the party that doth his brethren wrong.

The Controversies themselves, I will not enter into, as judging that the disease requireth rather Rest than any other cure. Thus much we all know and confess that they are not of the highest nature.

For they are not touching the high Mysteries of Faith such as detained the Churches for many years after their first peace, what time the heretics moved curious questions and made strange anatomies of the Natures and Person of CHRIST, and the catholic Fathers were compelled to follow them with all subtilty of decisions and determinations, to exclude them from their evasions, and to take them in their labyrinths: so as it is rightly said, *Illis temporibus, ingeniosa res fuit, esse Christianum*, "In those days it was an ingenious and subtle thing to be a Christian."

Neither are they concerning the great parts of the Worship of GOD. Of which it is true that *Non servatur unitas in credendo, nisi eadem sit in colendo*, "There will be kept no unity in believing, except it be entertained in worshipping." Such as were the controversies of the East and West Churches touching images; and such as are many of those between the Church of Rome and us, as about the adoration of the sacrament and the like.

But we contend about Ceremonies and Things Indifferent, about the Extern Polity and Government of the Church. In which kind, if we would but remember that the ancient and true bounds of Unity are "One Faith," "One Baptism,"

and not "One Ceremony," "One Polity;" if we would observe the league among Christians that is penned by our Saviour, "He that is not against us, is with us;" if we could but comprehend that saying, *Differentiæ rituum commendant unitatem Doctrinæ*, "The diversities of Ceremonies do set forth the unity of Doctrine;" and that, *Habet Religio quæ sunt Æternitis, habet quæ sunt Temporis*, "Religion hath parts which belong to Eternity, and parts which belong to Time;" and if we did but know the vertue of silence and slowness to speak, commended by Saint JAMES: our controversies of themselves would close up and grow together.

But most especially if we would leave the overweening and turbulent humours of these times, and revive the blessed proceeding of the Apostles and Fathers of the primitive Church—which was in like and greater cases, not to enter into Assertions and Positions, but to deliver Counsels and Advices—we should need no other remedy at all. *Si eadem consulis, frater! quæ affirmas, consulenti delectur reverentia, cum non debeatur Fides affirmanti*, "Brother! if that which you set down as an assertion, you would deliver by way of advice; there were reverence due to your counsell, whereas Faith is not due to your affirmation." Saint PAUL was content to speak thus, *Ego, non DOMINUS*, "I, and not the LORD;" et *secundum consilium meum*, "According to my counsel:" but now men do too lightly say, *Non ego, sed DOMINUS*, "Not I, but the LORD." Yea, and bind it with an heavy denunciation of His judgments, to terrify the simple; which have not sufficiently understood out of SOLOMON, "That the causeless curse shall not come."

Therefore seeing the accidents are they which breed the peril, and not the things themselves in their own nature, it is meet the remedies be applied unto them, by opening what it it is, on either part, that keepeth the wound green; and formalizeth both sides to a further opposition; and worketh an indisposition in men's minds to be reunited: wherein no accusation is pretended. But I find in Reason, that Peace is best built upon a repetition of wrongs; and in Example, that the speeches which have been made by the wisest men *de concordia ordinum* have not abstained from reducing to memory the extremities used on both parts. So as it is true which is said, *Qui pacem tractat non is repetit conditionibus dissidiis, is*

magis animos hominum, dulcedine pacis fallet, quam æquitate componit.

And, first of all, it is more than time that there were an end and surseance made of this immodest and deformed manner of writing lately entertained, whereby matter of Religion is handled in the style of the Stage. Indeed, bitter and earnest writing must not hastily be condemned: for men cannot contend coldly and without affection about things which they hold dear and precious. A politic man [*politician*] may write from his brain, without touch and sense of his heart, as in a speculation that appertaineth not unto him: but a feeling Christian will express in his words, a Character of Zeal, or Love. The latter of which, as I could wish rather embraced, being more proper for these times; yet is the former warranted also by great examples.

But to leave all reverent and religious compassion towards evils, or indignation towards faults; and to turn Religion into a Comedy or Satire; to search and rip up wounds with a laughing countenance; to intermix Scripture and scurrility, sometimes in one sentence: is a thing far from the devout reverence of a Christian, and scant beseeming the honest regard of a sober man. *Non est major confusio quam serii et joci*, "There is no greater confusion than the confounding of jest and earnest." The majesty of religion, and the contempt and deformity of things ridiculous are things as distant as things may be. Two principal causes have I ever known of Atheism, Curious Controversies and Profane Scoffing. Now that these two are joined in one, no doubt that sect will make no small progression. And here, I do much esteem the wisdom and religion of that Bishop [Thomas Cooper] who replied to the first pamphlet of this kind: who remembered that a fool was to be answered, but not by becoming like unto him; and considered the Matter which he handled, and not the Person with whom he dealt.

Job, speaking of the majesty and gravity of a judge, in himself saith, "If I did smile, they believed it not" [xxix, 24], as if he should have said, "If I diverted or glanced upon conceit of mirth: yet men's minds were so possessed with a reverence of the action in hand, as they could not receive it." Much more ought not this to be amongst Bishops and Divines disputing about holy things. And therefore as much do

I mislike the invention of him [? T. NASH], who, as it seemeth, pleased himself in it as in no mean policy, "That these men are to be dealt withal at their own weapons, and pledged in their own cup." This seemed to him as profound a device as when the Cardinal SANSOVINO counselled JULIUS the SECOND to encounter the Council of Pisa with the Council of Lateran, or as lawful a challenge as Master [*i.e. Bishop*] JEWELL made to confute the pretended Catholics by the Fathers. But those things will not excuse the imitation of evil in another. It should be contrariwise with us, as CÆSAR said, *Nil malo, quam eos similes esse sui, et me mei.* But now, *Dum de bonis contendimus, de malis consentimus*, "While we differ about good things, we resemble in evil."

Surely, if I were asked of these men, "Who were the more to be blamed?" I should, per case, remember the proverb "That the second blow maketh the fray:" and the saying of an obscure fellow, *Qui replicat, multiplicat*, "He that replieth, multiplieth." But I would determine the question with this sentence. *Alter principium malo dedit, alter modum abstulit*, "By the one's means, we have a beginning; and by the other, we shall have none end."

And truly, as I do marvel that some of those Preachers which call for Reformation—whom I am far from wronging so far, as to join them with these scoffers—do not publish some "Declaration" whereby they may satisfy the world that they dislike [that] their cause should be thus solicited: so I hope assuredly that my Lords of the Clergy have none intelligence with this interlibelling, but do altogether disallow that their credit should be thus defended.

For though I observe in them many glosses whereby the man would insinuate himself in their favours; yet I find it to be ordinary that many pressing and fawning persons do misconjecture of the humours of men in authority; and many times, *Veneri immolant suum*, they seek to gratify them with that which they most dislike. For I have great reason to satisfy myself touching the judgment of my Lords the Bishops in this matter by that which was written by one of them, which I mentioned before, with honour.

Nevertheless, I note that there is not an indifferent hand carried towards these pamphlets, as they deserve; for the one sort flyeth in the dark, and the other is uttered openly:

wherein I might advise that side out of a wise writer, who hath set it down that *punitis ingeniis gliscit authoritas*. And, indeed, we see it ever falleth out, that the forbidden writing is always thought to be certain sparks of a truth that fly up into the faces of those that seek to choke it and tread it out: whereas a book authorized is thought to be but *Temporis voces*, "the language of the time." But, in plain truth, I do find, to mine understanding, these pamphlets as meet to be suppressed as the other[s].

> First, because as the former sort doth deface the Government of the Church in the persons of the Bishops and Prelates; so the other doth lead into contempt the Exercises of Religion in the persons of sundry Preachers: so as it disgraceth an higher matter, though in a meaner person.
>
> Next, I find certain indiscreet and dangerous amplifications; as if the Civil Government itself of this State had near lost the force of her sinews, and were ready to enter into some convulsion; all things being full of faction and disorder: which is as unjustly acknowledged as untruly affirmed. I know his meaning is to enforce this unreverent and violent impugning of the Government of Bishops to be a suspected forerunner of a more general contempt. And I grant there is *sympathy* between the Estates: but no such matter in the Civil Polity as deserveth so dishonourable a taxation.

To conclude this point. As it were to be wished that these writings had been abortive, and never seen the sun: so the next is, since they be commen abroad, that they be censured by all that have understanding and conscience, as the untemperate Extravagancies of some light persons. Yea further, that men beware—except they mean to adventure to deprive themselves of all sense of religion, and to pave their own hearts and make them as the high way—how they be conversant in them, and much more, how they delight in that vein: but rather to turn their laughing into blushing; and to be ashamed, as of a short madness, that they have in matters of religion, taken their disport and solace. But this perchance is of these faults, which will be soonest acknowledged; though I perceive, nevertheless, that there want not some who seek to blanch and excuse it.

BUT to descend to a sincere view and consideration of the accidents and circumstances of these Controversies; wherein either part deserveth blame or imputation: I find, generally, in Causes of Church matters, that men do offend in some or all of these five points.

[**A.**] The First is the Giving occasion unto the Controversies; and also the unconsiderate and ungrounded Taking of occasion.

[**B.**] The Next is the Extending and Multiplying the Controversies to a more general Opposition or Contradiction than appeareth at the first propounding of them, when men's judgments are least partial.

[**C.**] The Third is the Passionate and Unbrotherly practices and proceedings of both parts towards the persons, each of others, for their discredit and suppression.

[**D.**] The Fourth is the courses holden and entertained, on either side, for the drawing of their partizans to a more straight union within themselves, which ever imparteth a further distraction of the entire body.

[**E.**] The Last is the undue and inconvenient Propounding, Publishing and Debating of the Controversies. In which point, the most palpable error hath been already spoken of; as that which through the strangeness and freshness of the abuse first offereth itself to the conceits of all men.

Now concerning the Occasion of the Controversies—it cannot be denied but that the imperfections in the Conversation and Government of those which have chief place in the Church have ever been principal causes and motives of schisms and divisions.

For whiles the Bishops and Governors of the Church continue full of knowledge and good works; whiles they feed the flock indeed; whiles they deal with the secular States in all liberty and resolution, according to the Majesty of their Calling and the precious care of souls imposed upon them: so long, the Church is situated as it were upon a hill: no man maketh question of it or seeketh to depart from it. But when these vertues in the Fathers and Leaders of the Church have lost their light; and that they wax worldly, lovers of

themselves and pleasers of men: then men begin to grope for the Church as in the dark: they are in doubt whether they [*i.e. the Fathers and Leaders &c.*] be the successors of the Apostles, or of the Pharisees. Yea, howsoever they sit in Moses's chair, yet can they never speak, *Tanquam authoritatem habentes*, "As having authority:" because they have lost their reputation in the consciences of men by declining their [own] steps from the way which they trace out to others. So as men had need continually [to] have sounding in their ears this same, *nolite exire*, "Go not out:" so ready are they to depart from the Church upon every voice. And therefore it is truly noted by one that writeth as a natural man, "That the humility of the Friars did, for a great time, maintain and bear out the irreligion of Bishops and Prelates." For this is the double policy of the spiritual Enemy; either by counterfeit Holiness of Life to establish and authorize errors, or by Corruption of Manners to discredit and draw in question Truth and Things lawful.

This concerneth my Lords the Bishops unto whom I am witness to myself that I stand affected as I ought. No Contradiction hath supplanted in me the reverence that I owe to their calling: neither hath Detraction nor Calumny imbased my opinion of their persons. I know some of them whose names are most pierced with these accusations, to be men of great vertues: although the indisposition of the times, and the want of correspondence many ways, is enough to frustrate the best endeavours in the edifying of the Church. And for the rest, generally, I can condemn none. I am no judge of them that belong to so high a Master. Neither have I two witnesses. And I know it is truly said of Fame, that

Pariter facta, atque infecta canebat.

Their taxations arise not all from one coast. They have many and different enemies, ready to invent slaunder, more ready to amplify it, and most ready to believe it. And *Magnes mendacii credulitas* "Credulity is the adamant of lies." But if any be, against whom the Supreme Bishop hath not "a few things," but "many things;" if any have "lost his first love;" if any "be neither hot nor cold;" if any have stumbled too fondly at the threshold in such sort, that he cannot sit well that entered ill: it is time they return whence they are fallen, and confirm the things that remain.

Great is the weight of this fault, *Et eorum causâ abhorrebant a sacrificio DOMINI*, "And for their cause, did men abhor the adoration of GOD."

But howsoever it be, those which have sought to deface them, and cast contempt upon them, are not to be excused. It is the precept of SOLOMON that "the rulers be not reproached." No, not in our thought: but that we draw our very conceit into a modest interpretation of their doings. The holy angel would give no sentence of blasphemy against the Common Slanderer: but said *Increpet te DOMINUS!* "The LORD rebuke thee!" The apostle, Saint PAUL, though against him that did pollute sacred justice with tyrranous violence, he did just denounce the judgment of GOD, saying, *Percutiet te DOMINUS!* "The LORD will strike thee!" yet in saying *Paries dealbate*, he thought he had gone too far, and retracted it. Whereupon a learned Father said, *Ipsum quamvis inane nomen et umbram Sacerdotis, expavit.*

The ancient Councils and Synods, as is noted by the Ecclesiastical Story, when they deprived any Bishop, never recorded the offence; but buried it in perpetual silence. Only HAM purchased his curse by revealing his father's disgrace.

And yet a much greater fault is it, to ascend from their Person to their Calling, and draw that in question. Many good Fathers spake rigorously and severely of the unworthiness of Bishops, as if presently it did forfeit and cease their office. One saith, *Sacerdotes nominamur, et non sumus*, "We are called priests, but priests we are not." Another saith, *Nisi bonum opus amplectaris, Episcopus esse non potes*, "Except thou undertake the good work, thou canst not be a Bishop." Yet they meant nothing less than to move doubt of their Calling or Ordination.

[**2.**] The Second Occasion of Controversies is the Nature and Humour of some men. The Church never wanteth a kind of persons which love the salutation of *Rabbi*, "Master;" not in ceremony or compliment, but in an inward authority which they seek over men's minds; in drawing them to depend upon their opinions, and to seek knowledge at their lips. These men are the true successors of DIOTREPHES "the lover of preeminence," and not [the] Lord Bishops.

Such spirits do light upon another sort of natures, which

do adhere to these men, *Quorum gloria in obsequio,* stiff fellows, and such as zeal marvellously for those whom they have chosen for their masters. This latter sort for the most part, are men of young yeares and superficial understanding, carried away with partial respects of persons or with the enticing appearance of godly names and pretences. *Pauci res ipsas sequuntur, plures nomina rerum, plurimi nomina magistrorum,* "Few follow the things themselves, more the names of the things, and most the names of their masters."

About these general affections are wreathed and interlaced accidental and private emulations and discontentments: all which together, break forth into contentions, such as either violate Truth, Sobriety, or Peace. These generalities apply themselves. The Universities are the seat or the continent of this disease; whence it hath been and is derived into the rest of the realm. There, men will no longer be *e numero,* of the number. There, do others side themselves before they know their right hand from their left. So it is true which is said, *Transeunt ab ignorantiâ ab præjudicium,* "They skip from ignorance to a prejudicate opinion," and never take a sound judgement in their way. But, as it is well noted, *Inter juvenile judicium et senile præjudicium, omnis veritas corrumpitur,* Through want of years when men are not indifferent but partial, then their judgement is weak and unripe: and when it groweth to strength and ripeness, by that time it is forestalled with such a number of prejudicate opinions as it is made unprofitable. So as between these two, all Truth is corrupted.

In the meanwhile, the honorable names of Sincerity, Reformation and Discipline are put in the fore ward; so as Contentious and Evil Zeals cannot be touched except these holy things be thought first to be violated.

But howsoever they shall infer the solicitation for the Peace of the Church to proceed from carnal sense, yet I will conclude ever with the apostle Paul, *Cum sit inter vos zelus et contentio, nonne carnales estis?* "While there is amongst you zeal and contention, are ye not carnal?" And howsoever they esteem the compounding of Controversies to savour of man's wisdom and human policy, and think themselves led by the wisdom which is from aboue; yet I say, with Saint James, *Non est ista sapientia de sursum descendens; sed terrena, animalis, diabolica. Ubi enim zelus et contentio, ibi inconstantia*

et omne opus pravum. Of this inconstancy it is said by a learned Father, *Procedere volunt non ad perfectionem, sed ad permutationem.* "They seek to go forward still, not to perfection, but to change."

[3.] The Third Occasion of Controversies I observe to be an Extreme and Unlimited Detestation of some former heresy or corruption of the Church already acknowledged and convicted.

This was the cause that produced the heresy of ARRIUS, grounded especially upon detestation of Gentilism; lest the Christians should seem by the assertion of the equal Divinity of our Saviour CHRIST, to approach unto the acknowledgement of more Gods than One.

The detestation of the heresy of ARRIUS produced that of SABELLIUS; who holding for execrable the Dissimilitude which ARRIUS pretended in the Trinity, fled so far from him as he fell upon that other extremity, to deny the distinction of Persons, and to say they were but only names of several offices and dispensations.

Yea, most of the heresies and schisms of the Church have sprung up of this root, while men have made it as it were the scale by which to measure the bounds of the most perfect religion: taking it, by the furthest distance from the error last condemned. These be the *posthumi hæresium filii*, heresies that arise out of the ashes of other heresies that are extinct and amortized.

This manner of apprehension doth in some degree possess many in our times. They think it the true touchstone to try what is good and evil, by measuring what is more or less opposite to the institutions of the Church of Rome, be it Ceremony, be it Polity or Government; yea be it other Institutions of greater weight: that is ever most perfect which is removed most degrees from that Church, and that is ever polluted and blemished which participateth in any appearance with it.

This is a subtle and dangerous conceit for men to entertain; apt to delude themselves, more apt to delude the people, and most apt of all to calumniate their adversaries. This surely—but that a notorious condemnation of that position was before our eyes—had long since brought us to

the rebaptization of children baptized according to the pretended Catholic religion. For I see that which is a matter of much like reason; which is, the re-ordaining of Priests—is a matter already resolutely maintained.

It is very meet that men beware how they be abused by this opinion, and that they know that it is a consideration of much greater wisdom and sobriety to be well advised, whether in [the] general demolition of the Institutions of the Church of Rome, there were not (as men's actions are imperfect), some good purged with the bad; rather than to purge the Church as they pretend, every day anew: which is the way to make a wound in the bowels; as is already begun.

[**4.**] The Fourth and last Occasion of these Controversies —a matter which did also trouble the Church in former times—is the partial affectation [*liking*] and imitation of foreign Churches. For many of our men—during the time of persecution, and since — having been conversant in Churches abroad, and received a great impression of the form of Government, there ordained; have violently sought to intrude the same upon our Church. But I answer, *Consentiamus in eo quod convenit, non in eo quod receptum est.* "Let us agree in this, that every Church do that which is convenient for the state of itself, and not in particular customs." Although their Churches had received the better form: yet, many times, it is to be sought, *Non quod optimum, sed e bonis quid proximum.* "Not that which is best, but of good things, [that] which is the best and readiest to be had."

Our Church is not now to plant. It is settled and established. It may be in Civil States, a Republic is a better policy than a Kingdom: yet, GOD forbid! that lawful Kingdoms should be tied to innovate and make alterations. *Qui mala introducit, voluntatem DEI oppugnat, revelatem in verbo: qui nova introducit, voluntatem DEI oppugnat, revelatem in rebus.* "He that bringeth in evil customs, resisteth the will of GOD revealed in his Word; he that bringeth in new things, resisteth the will of GOD revealed in the things themselves." *Consule providentium DEI cum verbo DEI!* "Take counsel of the Providence of GOD as well as of his Word!"

Neither yet do I admit that their Form, although it were possible and convenient, is better than ours, if some abuses

were taken away. The Parity and Equality of Ministers is a thing of wonderful great confusion: and so is an Ordinary Government by Synods, which doth necessarily ensue upon the other.

It is hard in all causes, but especially in Religion, when voices shall be numbered and not weighed. *Equidem*, saith a wise Father, *ut verè quod res est scribam, prorsus decrevi fugere omnem conventum Episcoporum; Nullius enim Concilii bonum exitum unquam vidi; Concilia enim non minimum mala, sed augent potius*, "To say the truth, I am utterly determined never to come to any Council of Bishops. For I never yet saw good end of any Council: for Councils abate not ill things, but rather increase them." Which is to be understood, not so much of General Councils, as of Synods gathered for the ordinary Government of the Church; as for the deprivation of Bishops and such like causes. This mischief hath taught the use of Archbishops, Patriarchs and Primates; as the abuse of them since, hath taught men to mislike them.

But it will be said, "Look to the fruits of the Churches abroad and ours!" To which I say, that I beseech the LORD to multiply his blessings and graces upon those Churches an hundred fold. But yet it is not good that we fall on the numbering of them. It may be, our peace hath made us more wanton. It may be also—though I would be loath to derogate from the honour of those Churches, were it not to remove scandals—that their fruits are as torches in the dark, which appear greatest afar off.

I know they may have some strict orders for repressing of sundry excesses: but when I consider of the censures of some persons—as well upon particular men, as upon Churches—I think on the saying of a Platonist who saith, *Certe, vitia irascibilis partis animæ sunt gradu praviora, quam concupiscibilis tametsi occultiora.* A matter that appeared much by the ancient contentions of Bishops. GOD grant! that we may contend with other Churches as the Vine with the Olive, which of us shall bear the best fruit, and not as the Briar with the Thistle, which of us is most unprofitable.

And thus much touching the Occasions of these Controversies.

[**B**.] Now, briefly, to set down the Growth and Progression of the Controversies: whereby will be verified the saying of

Solomon, "That the course of Contention is to be stopped at the first; being else as the waters, which if they gain a breach, it will hardly ever be recovered" [Prov. xvii. 14].

It may be remembered that on that Part which call for Reformation was first propounded some dislike of certain Ceremonies supposed to be superstitious; some complaint of "Dumb Ministers" who possess rich benefices; and some invectives against the idle and monastical continuance within the Universities by those who had livings to be resident upon; and such like abuses.

Thence, they went on to condemn the Government of Bishops as an Hierarchy remaining to us of the corruptions of the Roman Church; and to except to sundry Institutions in the Church, as not sufficiently delivered from the pollutions of former times.

And lastly, they are advanced to define of an Onely and Perpetual Form of Polity in the Church, which—without consideration of possibility and foresight of peril and perturbation of the Church and State—must be erected and planted by the Magistrate. Here they stay.

Others, not able to keep footing in so steep ground, descend further. "That the same must be entered into and accepted of the people at their peril without the attending of the establishment of authority:" and so, in the mean time, they refuse to communicate with us, reputing us to have no Church.

This hath been the progression of that side. I mean the generality. For I know some persons—being of the nature not only to love extremities, but also to fall to them without degrees—were at the highest strain, at the first.

The other Part, which maintaineth the present Government of the Church, hath not kept one tenour, neither.

First, those Ceremonies which were pretended to be corrupt, they maintained to be things indifferent: and opposed the examples of the good times of the Church to that Challenge which was made unto them, because they were used in the later superstitious times.

Then were they also content mildly to acknowledge many imperfections in the Church "as tares commen up amongst the corn:" which yet—according to the wisdom taught by

our Saviour—were not with strife to be pulled up, lest it might spoil and supplant the good corn; but to grow on together till the harvest.

After, they grew to a more absolute Defence and Maintenance of all the Orders of the Church, and stiffly to hold that nothing was to be innovated: partly because it needed not, partly because it would make a breach upon the rest.

Hence—exasperated through contentions—they are fallen to the direct condemnation of the contrary part, as of a Sect. Yea, and some indiscreet persons have been bold in open preaching to use dishonorable and derogatory speech and censure of the Churches abroad: and that so far, as some of our men (as I have heard) ordained in foreign parts have been pronounced to be no lawful ministers.

Thus we see the beginnings were modest, but the extremes are violent. So as there is almost as great distance now, of either side from itself; as was, at the first, of one from the other.

And surely though my meaning and scope be not, as I said before, to enter into the Controversies themselves; yet I do admonish the Maintainers of "the alone Discipline" to weigh and consider seriously and attentively how near they are unto them, with whom, I know they will not join. It is very hard to affirm that the "Discipline" which they say we want, is one of the *essential* parts of the worship of GOD: and not to affirm withal, that the people themselves, upon peril of salvation, without staying for the Magistrate, are not to gather themselves into it. I demand if a Civil State should receive the Preaching of the Word and Baptism, and interdict and exclude the sacrament of the Lord's Supper: were not men bound, upon [the] danger of their souls, to draw themselves to congregations wherein they might celebrate this mystery; and not to content themselves with that part of GOD's worship which the Magistrate had authorized?

Thus I speak, not to draw them into the mislike of others, but into a more deep consideration of themselves, *Fortasse non redeunt, quia suum progressum, non intelligunt.*

Again, to my Lords the Bishops, I say, That it is hard for them to avoid blame—in the opinion of an indifferent person

—in standing so precisely upon altering nothing. *Leges, novis legibus non recreatæ, acescunt,* "Laws not refreshed with new laws, wax sour." *Qui mala non permutat, in bonis non perseverat,* "Without change of ill, a man cannot continue the good." To take away many abuses supplanteth not good orders, but establisheth them. *Morosa moris retentio res turbulenta est, æque ac novitas:* "A contentious retaining of custom is a turbulent thing, as well as innovation." A good husband-[man] is ever proining in his vineyard or his field: not unseasonably, indeed; not unskilfully; but lightly he findeth ever somewhat to do.

We have heard of no offers of the Bishops of Bills in Parliament, which, no doubt, proceeding from them, to whom it properly belongeth, would have everywhere received acceptation. Their own *Constitutions* and *Orders* have reformed them little.

Is nothing amiss? Can any man defend the use of Excommunication as a base process to lackay up and down for duties and fees? it being a precursory Judgement of the Latter Day.

Is there no mean to train and nurse up ministers?—for the yield of the Universities will not serve, though they were never so well governed—to train them, I say, not to preach (for that every man confidently adventureth to do) but to preach soundly, and to handle the Scriptures with wisdom and judgement.

I know "prophesying" was subject to great abuse; and would be more abused now, because [the] heat of contentions is increased: but I say the only reason of the abuse was because there was admitted to it a popular auditory, and it was not contained within a private Conference of Ministers.

Other things might be spoken of.

I pray GOD to inspire the Bishops with a fervent love and care of the people; and that they may not so much urge things in controversy as things out of controversy, which all men confess to be gracious and good.

And thus much for the Second point.

[**C.**] Now as to the Third point of Unbrotherly Proceedings on either part: it is directly contrary to my purpose to

amplify wrongs. It is enough to note, and number them. Which I do also to move compassion and remorse on the offending side, and not to animate challengers and complaints on the other. And this point, as reason is, doth chiefly touch that side which can do most, *Injuriæ potentiorum sunt*, "Inquiries come from them that have the upper hand."

The wrongs of them which are possessed of the Government of the Church toward the other, may hardly be dissembled or excused.

They have charged them as though they denied tribute to to CÆSAR, and withdrew from the Civil Magistrate the obedience which they have ever performed and taught.

They have sorted and coupled them with the "Family of Love," whose heresies they [*i.e. the Puritans*] have laboured to destroy and confute.

They have been swift of credit to receive accusations against them, from those that have quarrelled with them but for speaking against sin and vice.

Their accusations and inquisitions have been strict, swearing men to "blanks" and generalities—not included within compass of matter certain, which the party which is to take the oath may comprehend—[may be seen] to be a thing captious and strainable.

Their urging of Subscription to their own Articles is but *lacessere et irritare morbos Ecclesiæ*, which otherwise would spend and exercise themselves. *Non concessum quærit, sed dissidium qui, quod factis præstatur, in verbis exigit*, "He seeketh not Unity, but Division, which exacteth that in words, when men are content to yield in action."

And it is true there are some which, as I am persuaded, will not easily offend by inconformity, who notwithstanding make some conscience to subscribe: for they know this Note of inconstancy and defection from that which they have long held, shall disable them to do that good which otherwise they mought do; for such is the weakness of many, that their ministry should thereby be discredited.

As for their easy silencing of them; in such great scarcity of Preachers, it is to punish the people and not them. Ought they not, I mean the Bishop, to keep one eye open to look upon the good that the men do; but to fix them both upon the hurt that they suppose cometh by them? Indeed, such

as are intemperate and incorrigible, GOD forbid that they should be permitted to preach! but shall every inconsiderate word, sometimes captiously watched and for the most part hardly enforced, be as a forfeiture of their Voice and Gift in preaching.

As for sundry particular molestations, I take no pleasure to recite them. If a Minister shall be troubled for saying in Baptism, "Do you believe?" for "Dost thou believe?" if another shall be called in question for praying for Her Majesty without the additions of her style, whereas the very form of Prayer in the *Book of Common Prayer* hath "Thy servant ELIZABETH" and no more; if a third shall be accused upon these words uttered touching the Controversies, *Tollatur lex et fiat certamen* (whereby was meant that the prejudice of law removed, either reasons should be equally compared) of calling the people to sedition and mutiny, as if he had said, "Away with the law! and try it out with force!" if these and other like particulars be true, which I have but by rumour and cannot affirm; it is to be lamented that they [*i.e. the Puritan Ministers*] should labour amongst us with so little comfort.

I know Restrained Governments are better than Remiss, and I am of his mind that said, "Better it is to live where nothing is lawful, than where all things are lawful." I dislike that laws should not be continued, or disturbers be unpunished. But laws are likened to the grape, that being too much pressed yields an hard and unwholesome wine.

Of these things I must say *Ira viri non operatur justiciam DEI*, "The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of GOD."

As for the injuries of the other Part, they be *Ictus inermes*, as it were, "headless arrows." They be fiery and eager invectives; and, in some fond men, uncivil and unreverent behaviour towards their superiors.

This last invention also which exposeth them [*the Bishops*] to derision and obloquy by libels, chargeth not (as I am persuaded) the whole [opposite] side: neither doth that other —which is yet more odious—practised by the worst sort of them, which is to call in (as it were to their aid) certain mercenary bands which impugn Bishops and other Ecclesi-

astical Dignities, to have the spoil of their endowments and livings. Of those I cannot speak too hardly. It is an intelligence [*understanding*] between incendiaries and robbers, the one to fire the house, the other to rifle it.

[**D.**] The Fourth Point wholly pertaineth to them which impugn the present Ecclesiastical Government: who although they have not cut themselves off from the body and communion of the Church; yet they do affect certain cognizances and differences wherein they seek to correspond amongst themselves and to be separate from others.

And it is truly said, *Tam sunt mores quidam schismatici quam dogmata schismatica*, "There be as well schismatical fashions, as opinions."

First, they have impropriated unto themselves the names of Zealous, Sincere, and Reformed, as if all others were cold, minglers of holy things and profane, and friends of abuses. Yea, be a man endued with great virtues and fruitful in good works; yet if he concur not with them, they term him (in derogation) a Civil or Moral Man, and compare him to SOCRATES or some heathen philosopher: whereas the wisdom of the Scriptures teacheth us otherwise, namely to judge and denominate men religious according to their works of the Second Table [*the last five of the Ten Commandments*], because they of the First are often counterfeit and practised in hypocrisy. So Saint JOHN saith "That a man doth vainly boast of loving GOD, whom he never saw; if he love not his brother whom he hath seen:" and Saint JAMES saith "This is true religion to visit the fatherless and the widow." So as that which is with them but Philosophical and Moral is in the Apostle's phrase "True Religion and Christianity."

As in affection, they challenge the said virtues of Zeal and the rest; so in knowledge, they attribute unto themselves Light and Perfection. They say the Church of England in King EDWARD's time and in the beginning of Her Majesty's reign was but in the cradle; and the Bishops in those times did somewhat for day break: but that Maturity and Fulness of light proceeded from themselves. So SABINIUS Bishop of HERACLEA, a Macedonian heretic, said "That the Fathers in the Council of Nice were but infants and ignorant men:

that the Church was not so perfect in their decrees as to refuse the further ripeness of knowledge, which time had revealed."

And as they censure [*depreciate*] virtuous names by the names of Civil and Moral, so do they censure men truly and godly wise (who see into the vanity of their affections) by the name of Politics [*politicians*]: saying "that their wisdom is but carnal and savouring of man's brain."

So likewise, if a Preacher preach with care and meditation (I speak not of the vain scholastical manner of preaching; but soundly indeed ordering the matter he handleth, distinctly for memory; deducting and drawing it down for direction; and authorising it with strong proofs and warrants;) they censure it as a form of speaking not becoming the simplicity of the Gospel, and refer it to the reprehension of Saint Paul speaking of "the enticing speech of man's wisdom."

Now for their own manner of preaching, what is it? Surely they exhort well; and work compunction of mind; and bring men well to the question, *Viri, fratres, quid faciemus?* But that is not enough, except they resolve the question. They handle Matters of Controversy weakly and *obiter*, and as before a people that will accept of anything. In doctrine of Manners, there is little but generality and repetition. The Word (the bread of life) they toss up and down: they break it not. They draw not their directions down *ad casus conscientiæ*, that a man may be warranted in his perpetual actions, whether they be lawful or no.

Neither, indeed, are many of them able to do it, what through want of grounded knowledge; what through want of study and time. It is a compendious and easy thing to call for the observation of the Sabbath Day, or to speak against vnlawful gain. But what actions and what works may be done upon the Sabbath, and what not? and what courses of gain are lawful, and in what cases? To set this down, and to clear the whole matter with good distinctions and decisions, is a matter of great knowledge and labour, and asketh much meditation and conversing in the Scriptures, and other helps which GOD hath provided and preserved for instruction.

Again, they carry not an equal hand in teaching the people their lawful liberty as well as their restraints and prohibitions:

but they think a man cannot go too far in that he hath a shew of a commandment. They forget that there are sins on the right hand, as well as on the left; and that the Word is "double edged" and cutteth on both sides, as well the profane transgressions as the superstitious observances. Who doubteth but that it is as unlawful to shut where GOD hath opened; as to open where GOD hath shut; to bind where GOD hath loosed, as to loose where GOD hath bound. Amongst men, it is commonly as ill taken to turn back favours as to disobey commandments. In this kind of zeal, for example, they have pronounced generally and without difference, all untruths, unlawful: notwithstanding that the midwives [*in Egypt*] are directly reported to have been blessed for their excuse; and RAHAB is said, by *faith* to have concealed the spies; and SOLOMON'S *selected* judgment proceeded upon a simulation; and our Saviour—the more to touch the hearts of the two disciples—with a holy dalliance made as if he would have passed Emmaus.

Further, I have heard some sermons of mortification which, I think, with very good meaning, they have preached out of their own experience and exercise, and things in private counsels not unmeet; but surely, no sound conceits: much like to [R] PARSON'S *Resolution*, or not so good; apt to breed in men rather weak opinions and perplexed despairs than filial and true repentance, which is sought.

Another point of great inconvenience and peril is to entitle the people to hear Controversies, and all kinds of doctrine. They say "no part of the Counsell of GOD is to be suppressed, nor the people defrauded." So as the difference which the Apostle maketh between milk and strong meat is confounded; and his precept that "the weak be not admitted into questions and controversies" taketh no place.

But most of all is to be suspected as a seed of further inconvenience, their method of handling the Scriptures. For whilst they seek express Scripture for everything; and that they have in a manner deprived themselves and the Church of a special help and support, by embasing the authority of the Fathers: they resort to naked examples, conceited inferences and forced allusions; such as do mine into all certainty of religion.

Another extremity is the excessive magnifying of that,

which though it be a principal and most holy Institution; yet hath it limits, as all things else have. We see wheresover, in a manner, they find in the Scriptures, the Word spoken of; they expound it of Preaching. They have made it, in a manner, of the *essence* of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to have a sermon precedent. They have, in a sort, annihilated the use of Liturgies and Forms of Divine Service: although the House of GOD be denoted, of the principal, *Domus orationis*, "A House of Prayer," and not "A House of Preaching." As for the life of the good monks and hermits in the primitive Church, I know they will condemn a man as half a Papist if he should maintain them as other than profane; because they heard no sermons.

In the meantime, what preaching is, and who may be said to preach; they move no question: but, as far as I see, every man that presumeth to speak in [a] Chair is accounted a Preacher. But I am assured that not a few that call hotly for a "preaching ministry," deserve to be the first themselves that should be expelled.

All which errors and misproceedings, they do fortify and intrench by an addicted respect to their own opinions, and an impatience to hear contradiction or argument. Yea, I know some of them that would think it a tempting of GOD to hear or read what may be said against them: as if there could be a *Quod bonum est, tenete!* without an *Omnia probate!* going before.

This may suffice to offer unto themselves a thought and consideration, whether in these things they do well or no? and to correct and assuage the partiality of their followers. For as for any man that shall hereby enter in to a contempt of their ministry, it is but his own hardness of heart. I know the work of exhortation doth chiefly rest upon these men, and they have Zeal and Hate of Sin: but, again, let them take heed that it be not true, which one of their adversaries said, "That they have but two small wants, Knowledge and Love." And so I conclude this point.

[3] The last Point, touching the due Publishing and Debating of these Controversies, needeth no long speech. This strange abuse of antiques [*antics*] and *Pasquils* hath

been touched before. So likewise I repeat that which I said "That a character of Love is more proper for debates of this nature, than that of *Z*eal." As for all direct or indirect glances or levels at men's persons; that were ever in these causes disallowed.

Lastly, whatsoever he pretendeth, the people is no meet arbitrator: but rather the quiet modest and private assemblies and conferences of the learned. *Qui apud incapacem loquitur, non disceptat, sed calumniatur.* The Press and Pulpit would be freed and discharged of these contentions. Neither promotion on the one side, nor glory and heat on the other side ought to continue these challenges and cartels at the Cross and other places. But rather, all preachers—especially such as be of good temper, and have wisdom with conscience—ought to inculcate and beat upon a Peace, Silence, and Surseance. Neither let them fear SOLON's law, which compelled in factions every particular person to range himself on the one side; nor yet the fond [*foolish*] calumny of Neutrality: but let them know that it is true which is said by a wise man, "That neuters in contentions are either better or worse than either side."

These things have I, in all sincerity and simplicity, set down touching the Controversies which now trouble the Church of England; and that without all art and insinuation: and therefore not like[ly] to be grateful to either part. Notwithstanding I trust what has been said shall find a correspondence in their minds which are not embarked in partiality, and which love the whole better than a part. Wherefore I am not out of hope that it may do good. At the least, I shall not repent myself of the meditation.

Resuscitatio, pp. 162–179. *Ed.* 1657, *fol.*

VI.

Rev. John Udall.

Narrative of his Ministry at Newcastle on Tyne during this Controversy.

The formal Interrogatories and Replies of this Examination are given at *pp.* 88–93.

Work was published in London in 1643 with the following title—

A new Discouery of Old Pontificall Practises for the maintenance of the Prelates Authority and Hierarchy. Evinced by their Tyrannicall persecution of that Reverend, Learned, Pious, and worthy Minister of Jesus Christ, Master John Udall, in the Raigne of Queene Elizabeth. *&c.*

The beginning of this work—which relates to this Controversy, and also shows us where Udall was all the while—is as follows.

The Particular Examinations, Arraignement and Condemnation of John Vdall, Minister of the word of God, together with such things as passed betweene him and others by occasion thereof.

Eeing you desire to understand the particular things that have passed betwixt mee and them in authority, that have from time to time molested mee; I am willing to satisfie you at this time, in that which concerneth this my last and greatest trouble, that ever befell me; for that it brought me to Prison, referring you to get the former of, &c. by such meanes as you may, and to learne the particulars of my Arraignement of those that heard it, seeing it was at the publike Assises, in the presence of many hundreds, divers whereof I thinke were both able and willing to take note thereof.

After that I was silenced at *Kingston* (in manner as appeareth in the papers that contain a particular remembrance of the same) I rested about half a yeer preparing my selfe to a private life for that I saw so little hope of returne into my ministery, or any rest in it, to the good of the Church.

But GOD would not have it so. For meanes were made by some that feared GOD in *Newcastle* upon *Tyne* to the Earle of HUNTINGDON to send me thither, who did so; and I was received thither in such sort as contented mee, and joyned in the ministery of the word there with two godly men, Master HOULDESWORTH the Pastor, and Master BAMFORD a teacher, through whose joynt labours, GOD vouchsafed so to draw the people to the love of the word, (notwithstanding that the *Plague* was grievous in the Towne all the while I was there, and consumed above 2000 of the Inhabitants) as we had hope in time to see much fruit and receive great comfort of our labours.

But the enemy so envyed the same that after a Yeares abode there, I was fetched thence by letters from the Lord HUNSDON Lord Chamberlaine [*who was also Warden of the Scotch Marches*] in the name of the whole counsell [*Privy Council*]. Whereupon I came thence December 29 1589. in the sorest weather that could bee, yet through GOD's mercy I and CHRISTOPHER APPLEBIE (whom the Major [*Mayor of Newcastle*] appointed to conduct me) came safe to *London*, Ianuary 9 [1590]. And upon the 13, being *Tuesday* I appeared at my Lord COBHAM's house in the *Blackfryers*, before my Lord COBHAM, my Lord BUCKHURST, my Lord [Chief Justice Sir EDMUND] ANDERSON, [JOHN YOUNG] the Bishop of ROCHESTER, Master FORTESCUE, Master EGERTON the Queen's Solicitor, Doctor AUBERY, Doctor LEWEN.

Then was I called in before them, whereupon my Lord [Chief Justice] ANDERSON said unto me.

ANDERSON. *How long have you bin at* Newcastle *?*

UDALL. About a yeere if it please your Lordship.

ANDERSON. *Why went you from* Kingston upon Thames *?*

UDALL. Because I was silenced there, and was called to *Newcastle*

[*Bishop of*] ROCHESTER. *What calling had you thither ?*

UDALL. The people made meanes to my Lord of HUNTINGDON, who sent me thither.

[*Bishop of*] ROCHESTER. *Had you the allowance of the Bishop of that Diocesse ?*

UDALL. There was none at that time.

[*Bishop of*] ROCHESTER. *Then you should have gone to the Archbishop.*

UDALL. There was no Archbishop at *Yorke* neither.[1]

ANDERSON. *You are called hither to answer concerning certaine bookes which are thought to be of your making.*

UDALL. If it be for any of *MARTIN's* bookes (according as my Lord Chamberlaines letters that fetched me import) I have already answered, and am ready so to doe againe.

ANDERSON. *Is this true Master* Beadle *?*

Beadle. I have heard that there was such a thing, but I was not there at it, if it please your Lordship.

AUBREY [and] LEWEN. *There was such a thing, as my Lords Grace told us.*

UDALL. I am the hardlier dealt withall to be fetched vp so farre at this time of the yeere. I haue had a journey I would not wish unto my enemy.

[*Bishop of*] ROCHESTER. *You may thanke your owne dealing in matters that you should not haue meddled withall.*

ANDERSON. *It is more then I heard that ever you were called to answer* [*i.e.* about Martinist books], *but you are to answer concerning other bookes.*

UDALL. I hope your Lordships will not urge mee to any others, seeing I was sent for about those.

ANDERSON. *You must answer to others also: what say you to those Bookes,* A Demonstration [of the Discipline] *or a* Dialogue &c. [*i.e. DIOTREPHES*] *did you not make them ?*

UDALL. I cannot answer thereunto

ANDERSON. *Why would you cleere your selfe of* MARTIN, *and not of these, but that you are guilty herein ?*

UDALL. Not so, my Lord, I have reason to answer in the one, but not in the other.

ANDERSON. *I pray you let us heare what reason, for I cannot conceive of it, seeing they are all written concerning one matter.*

UDALL. This is the matter, my Lord. I hold the matter proposed in them al to be one but I would not be thought to handle it in that manner, which the former Bookes doe. And because I thinke otherwise of the latter, I care not though they should be fathered upon mee.

[*Lord*] BUCKHURST. *But I pray you tell me know you not* PENRY *?*

[1] This is strictly correct.

The Bishopric of Durham was vacant from the death of RICHARD BARNES, on 24th Aug. 1587 to the election of MATTHEW HUTTON on the 9th June 1589.

The Archbishopric of York was similarly vacant from the death of EDWYN SANDYS on the 10th July 1588 to the translation of JOHN PIERS on 1 Feb. 1589. NICHOLAS' *Hist. Peerage, pp.* 591 and 585. Ed. 1857.

UDALL. Yes my Lord that I doe.

[*Lord*] BUCKHURST. *And doe you not know him to be* MARTIN?

UDALL. No surely, neither doe I thinke him to be MARTIN.

[*Lord*] BUCKHURST. *What is your reason?*

UDALL. This my Lord, when first it came out, he (understanding that some gave out that he was thought to bee the author) wrote a letter to a friend in *London*, wherein he did deny it, with such tearmes as declare him to bee ignorant and cleere in it.

[*Lord*] BUCKHURST. *Where is that letter?*

UDALL. Indeed I cannot now shew you, for I have forgotten unto whom it was written.

[*Lord*] BUCKHURST. *You will not tell where it is?*

UDALL. Why my Lord it tendeth to the clearing of one and the accusing of none.

[*Lord*] BUCKHURST. *Can you tell where* PENRY *is?*

UDALL. No surely my Lord.

[*Lord*] BUCKHURST. *When did you see him?*

UDALL. About a quarter of a yeere ago.

[*Lord*] BUCKHURST. *Where did you see him?*

UDALL. He called at my doore and saluted mee.

[*Lord*] BUCKHURST. *Nay he remained belike with him?*

UDALL. No indeed he neither came in my house, neither did hee so much as drinke with mee.[1]

[*Lord*] BUCKHURST. *How came you acquainted mith him?*

UDALL. I thinke at *Cambridge*, but I have beene often in his company.

[*Lord*] BUCKHURST. *Where?*

UDALL. At divers places, and namely in mine owne house whilest I dwelt at *Kingston*.

[*Lord*] BUCKHURST. *What cause had you to be so often in his company?*

UDALL. He being a Scholler and Student in Divinity, and one whom I alwaies thought to be an honest man, your Lordships may easily conceive the cause.

Here was much to this same effect spoken about Master PENRY and my being at Mistress Cranes house at *Moulsey* and with here, &c. which I always answered as in the like case concerning Master HORTON of *Richmond* before the Archbishop.

[1] It is clear from this hurried call on UDALL at Newcastle, that PENRY went into Scotland in the beginning of October 1589. See also *p.* 182.

VII.

Rev. John Penry.

Search of his house at Northampton. Friendly testimony as to Henry Sharpe, *even after his Examination before the Lord Chancellor.*

THis furye of theirs, at diuers times shewed by many of their instruments, did especially manifest it selfe on the 29. of Ianuary [1590] last. At which time one Richard Walton hauing a commission from the Archb. and others, wherein all her maiesties officers were chardged and commaunded in her name, to assist the sayd Walton to make entry into all houses, shops, &c: to apprehend all those whome he should any waies suspect, and to commit them at his discretion unto the next Gaol or prison, vntil farther order should be taken with them, came into the place of mine aboad at Northampton, ransacked my study, and tooke away with him all such printed books and written papers as he him self thought good, what they were as yet I cannot justly tel. And not contented to keepe him self with the immoderate limits of a larger commission, then as I thinke can be warranted by lawe, he offered violence vnto diuers persons, and threatened not only to breake open doores (hauing no such commission) but also to vntile houses, vnlesse he could find me where in deed I was not. At his departure, he charged the Maior of the towne, who then attended vpon him, to apprehend me as a traitor, giuing out that he had found in my study both printed books and also writings, which conteined treason in them. Whereas the bookes and writings of greatest disgrace (even in the sight of his master) which he could there finde, were, one printed coppy of the *demonstration of discipline*, and *an answere vnto Master D. Some* in writing, both which he

caried away with him. The treason conteined in either of those books, is no other then that which Amasiah the high priest at Bethel, found in Amos the prophet, euen the cleare words of truth, not to be abidden in a corrupt state of a churche I graunt.—*pp.* 6–7.

Amos. 7

From this insolency of theirs it is, that of late they haue in their mandatory letters, enjoined the Maior of Northampton, to surcease the execution of his office in the gouernment of that towne vnder hir maiestie, and either to become their pursiuant, in apprehending one of his neighbours, or else personally to appeare before them at London, and not to departe their court without special leave; his affaires in her maiesties seruice, and the distance of place betweene Northampton and London, nothing considered. And yet required they of him that which he coulde not bring to passe, because the party whome he was to apprehend, being wel known to be a dutiful subiect, and for the loue he beareth vnto God's truth to haue bene heeretofore so cruelly dealt with at some of their hands, by long imprisonment, and so euil dealt with, as his cause comming to be heard before the Lords of her maiesties priuy counsel, their Honours judged the bishops proceeding against him, to be against lawe and conscience, and so were the meanes of his deliuery, the party I say, nowe fearing the like injustice, that hee sometimes tasted of, was compelled with the hinderance of his family to absent himself from his calling. *Th' Appellation of* JOHN PENRI, *pp.* 46–47. 7 March 1589 [*i.e.* 1590].

M. Sharpe book binder of Northam-[p]ton.

VIII.

Rev. Matthew Sutcliffe.

An Answer &c. to Job Throkmorton.

This is a most important testimony as to the Authorship, by one who had seen all the impounded documents, many of which are now lost. The *Answer &c.* is dedicated to Lord Chief Justice Anderson.

[**A.**] O the question demanded of him concerning those treatises that bear the name of *Martin* [*Marprelate*], he answereth First, *that albeit here I seem to charge him with Martin's Epistles, Theses, and other such devises of Martin; yet he is able to clear himself by advantage taken of my words in my late* Answer to the Petition.

A matter that seemed strange to me, when first I read Throckmorton's letter; but more strange, when I perused mine own book. For I did not think that any had been of so hard a forehead or gross understanding, that he would have alleged a most direct charge, for a discharge; or to run upon that which is the wrack of his cause.

My words are most direct and plain against him.

John Penry, say I, *John Udall, John Field; all Johns: and Job Throkmorton: all concurred in making Martin.* Which words are so far from clearing him that they do clearly convict him. Even as these words clear him, so let him of those matters whereof he would purge himself be cleared.

Nay he confesseth in the end, *that he is brought in for a candle holder.* Untrue, then, it is that he is left out, or cleared.

The truth is that he is brought in as a Principal Agent in all these libels. Next to Penry that was hanged for libelling against the State, Master Throkmorton deserveth the first place.

[**B.**] Secondly he saith, *he may as well be charged with Martin's Theses, Protestations and Dialogues, as with any one* of *Martin's books.*

Wherein he greatly abuseth a good lady, and would abuse his reader also. For while he imagineth; that men do not

suppose him to be an actor in all *MARTIN's* libels, by confessing *that he is actor in all as well as one* he would avoid the charge that is laid upon him: whereas in truth he is guilty of more than is laid to his charge. Whatsoever his meaning was in these ambiguous terms, it is most apparent that he was Author of divers of these libels, and an Actor in the printing and publishing of them all.

[**1.**] After that *Hay any worke for Cooper* was printed, which was anno 1588 [*i.e.* March 1589]; WALDEGRAVE the printer, went to JOB THROKMORTON's house. Thither also did PENRY follow him, who was the Corrector and part Author of that book. All which NEWMAN, their agent, deposeth. Now, who may not hereof gather, that [they] all met together to take order for the distracting [*dispersing*] of the book, which they had printed by common consent: and that JOB THROKMORTON was Principal, for that nothing might be done without his privity?

That Master THROKMORTON was either the Author, or one or the chief Actors in all *MARTIN's* libels. The which is proved first in *Hay any worke for Cooper.*

Secondly, it is evident that the same men were Actors in the libel called *More work*, and in the libel called, *Hay any work:* For he that wrote *Hay any work* doth promise *More work.* But this *More work* is written with J. THROKMORTON's own hand, and in divers places with his hand it is interlined and corrected.

The book is to be shewed him, if he maintain the contrary.

Thirdly, the style is so like to JOB THROKMORTON's talking and writing, that as children do declare whose they are by the lineaments of their visage and proportion of parts, so these libels do bewray their natural father by the frame of the words and sentences, and such draughts as can proceed from no other author.

Fourthly, it is to [*i.e. it can*] be proved that he both dealt with WALDEGRAVE for the printing of it, and himself caused divers copies thereof to be distracted abroad.

Fifthly, the Author of *MARTIN senior* and *MARTIN junior* alloweth the libels called *MARTIN's Epitome* and *Hay any work;* which few do publickly avow besides the authors.

[**2.**] That *MARTIN senior* and *MARTIN junior* were of the device of JOB THROKMORTON, and came from his forge, it cannot be denied.

THROKMORTON the Author of *MARTIN senior* and *MARTIN junior.*

NEWMAN deposeth that he was dealt withal at JOB THROKMORTON's house to provide a printer to supply WALDEGRAVE's place, (that then was run, I know not

whither, out of the countrey) and that going to London, he sent thither one Hodgskin (a saltpeterman, and a good printer for such saltpeter and gunpowder works) who went to Throkmorton's house: where, because all things were not ready for the printing of *More work*; he was agreed withal for the printing of *Martin senior* and *Martin junior*.

Hodgskin and Simmes his man, say upon their oaths, that they were sent with a letter from Job Throkmorton to Mistress Wigston, to entreat her to suffer them to print at her house.

All these depositions are extant to be shewed, testified with the deponents' hands.

Whereby it may appear that Throkmorton was the Author of these two libels:

First, because he provided the Printer.

Next, because he agreed with him [*i.e. for the price*].

Thirdly, because he commended them to the house where they were to print.

Fourthly, for that the books [*i.e. the copy in manuscript*] came to Hodgskin's hands by the appointment of Throkmorton, being laid in the way betwixt his and Mistress Wigston's house, ready for Hodgskin to take up.

Deposed by Hodgskin.

Fifthly, for that coming to the place where the books were printed, he corrected certain faults: and shewed Simmes how he should read certain places interlined. This is deposed by Simmes: that, both by Tamlin and Simmes. They also depose that both *Martin senior* and *Martin junior* were written with one hand [*handwriting*].

Sixthly, Simmes deposeth that at the first the whole copy of *Martin Junior* was not to be found, but that upon Throkmorton's coming to the printing place it was found with the rest: so that he believeth he was both the Author of it and [had] brought it with him at his coming thither.

Seventhly, both *Martin senior* and *Martin junior* were written with that very same hand that wrote most of *More work for Cooper;* which is known to be Master Throkmorton's.

Deposed by Simmes.

Lastly, doubting how these two bookes should be printed, he asked Hodgskin softly in his ear, "whether his two men were able to serve the turn."

Now if he had had no hand in those bookes, what reason had he to be so careful for the printing of them?

[**3.**] The like and other reasons also may ascertain us that the same man was the Author of that infamous and odious libel intituled *More work;* which should have been printed in Lancashire, had not the press been taken by the Earl of DERBY.

That THROKMORTON was part Author of that infamous libel called *More worke for Cooper.*

First, that is proved by the testimony of J. THROKMORTON's own handwriting; for the copy [*i.e. the manuscript*] which every man may see that doubteth hereof, is half of it written with JOB THROKMORTON's own hand. A man would scarcely believe that a man that is so slothful when he should do any service to his country, should take such pains in writing of libels: yet his handwriting may assure us that it is so.

Besides this, the phrase and manner of writing—which are a certain indice [*Note the use of this word in the singular, where we should now say index*] and sign of the Author's affections—doth declare from whence the book did come: so scurrilous, wicked and railing stuff could come from no other than THROKMORTON.

Thirdly, he that made *MARTIN Senior* and *MARTIN Junior*, made also *More work*. SIMMES and TAMLIN do both depose that "both were written with one hand." And it is already proved that THROKMORTON was Author of *MARTIN senior* and *junior*.

Fourthly, the same booke [*i.e. manuscript*] is found in divers places corrected and interlined by JOB THROKMORTON's own hand: but no man useth or presumeth to add, detract or alter the original, besides the Author.

Fifthly, at PENRY's and THROKMORTON's entreaty, NEWMAN was content to go from THROKMORTON's house to provide a printer for the printing of *More work for Cooper*. If he had not been Author, what needed he to have cared for the printing of it?

Deposed by NEWMAN.

Sixthly, when HODGSKIN was come to THROKMORTON's house, there the bargain was made for the printing of the book, as both HODGSKIN and NEWMAN do testify.

Lastly, it is deposed both by HODGSKIN and SIMMES, that THROKMORTON while *MARTIN senior* and *MARTIN junior* were in printing, should say unto HODGSKIN "that *More work for Cooper* should come to his handes shortly." And so it did, being dropped out of a chamber into a room where then

Hodgskin was. If he were not the Author or at least an Actor in it, how could he know how the book should come to his hands? Could he prophesy that the book would drop out of the chamber, if he had not been privy to the dropping [of] it? An unhappy drop for poor Hodgskin! who, if Her Majesty had not been gracious to him, had dropped off the gibbet for it. The Author, in the meantime, he, like a cock on a perch croweth very loud, and standeth on his innocence, and defieth all those that say he is not an honest man.

[**4.**] If then Master Throkmorton made that booke which is called *More work*, then is he doubtless *Martin Marprelate:* for the author of that book doth in plain terms confess that he is *Martin Marprelate*. Let him disguise the name as he will, and call himself now *Martin*, then *Marprelate;* or give to Penry the name of *Martin* and to himself the name of *Marprelate*, as if *Martin Marprelate* were a monster compounded of divers persons and much wicked scurrility and ribaldry: yet this is certain that Job Throkmorton was Author of *More work for Cooper*, and that the Author of that book was *Martin Marprelate:* and—to go one strein further—that the same is a most infamous wicked, profane and scurrilous libel; the Author whereof deserveth not to live in any Christian commonwealth.

That Throkmorton is the counterfeit *Martin Marprelate.*

[**5.**] The book called *Some in his coulours*[1] was likewise made by J. Throkmorton.

That is proved first, by the deposition of Waldegrave that upon his oath testified so much, and at Rochelle where he printed it, spake it openly.

Throkmorton the author of *Some in his colours.*

Secondly, albeit Throkmorton in this place faintly doth deny *Martin's* pamphlets to be his: yet he doth not deny this treatise to be his; being charged with it.

Thirdly, The sauciness of the style doth declare who was the Author.

Fourthly, it appeareth by the depositions of Newman and

[1] [I. G.] Master Some laid open in his coulers: wherein the indifferent reader may easily see hovv wretchedly and loosely he hath handeled the cause against Master Penri. Done by an Oxford man, to his friend in Cambridge. [Secretly printed.] At the end is *I.G.*

The date of printing is fixed by the seizure of Penry's MS. work against Doctor Some (See *p* 173) on the 29th January 1590. For *To the Reader* begins thus: *Having this lying by me, vvithout any purpose to publish it as yet, I vvas advertised of the taking away of M.* Penrie's *book by the Purtiuant. VVhereupon I resolved* (*though it should be some offence to my friende*) *not to closet it vp any longer, lest th'aduersary shoulde too much triumph and insult, &c.*

Do you think him innocent that stood in this fear?

HOLMES that he dispersed divers hundreds of these books, and that he corrected the said books, and was earnest with HOLMES that he should not bewray him.

[6]. I have also seen a little pamphlet entitled *MARTIN's Interim.* I need not describe unto you the quality of the book. By this you may guess at it, that JOB THROKMORTON was the author of it: a book full of railing and ribaldry, of cursing, slander and impiety. The title doth show the humour of the Author, for he calleth it *MARTIN's interim, or a briefe Pistle to the cursed Prelates and Clergy.* In his preface he calleth them "proud," "Popish and tyrannical Rabbis." In the beginning of his Letter, he calleth them "an ungodly swarm of caterpillars," "incarnate divels," and "a hellish rabble." But of his kitchen rhetoric I have given you a taste before, so that I need not stand upon it.

JOB THROKMORTON the author of *MARTINs Interim.*

All THROKMORTON's grace is in writing of Pistles and letters.

That it came from THROKMORTON, although the style may teach you; yet the same is also argued by the hand [*handwriting*] wherein it was written; and for that it came into Scotland together with JOB THROKMORTON's letters, to PENRY's hands: and finally for that as he is reported to be the Author of it, so there is no other that is suspected for it but he.

THROKMORTON the author of *The crops and flowers of BRIDGES garden.*

[7]. And because he would have the name of a great writer of many bookes, he hath also written and published another little book called. *The crops and flowers of BRIDGES' garden.*

NEWMAN deposeth that in a certain chamber in one Master HARVY's house, THROKMORTON told him that he would give him a little book to help him towards his charges: and the rather for that he had taken great pains and profited little. He told him also, as the said NEWMAN affirmed "the name of the book," and "that he would go forth to walk in the evening, and that if he would follow him, he should find it." Which fell out accordingly. He walked like a proper man, NEWMAN followed, the book dropped down, NEWMAN took it up, and THROKMORTON dealt earnestly with him to print it. Yet afterwards he caused one BOWMAN to

He hath profited as much as they that have won to themselves trouble and discredit.

move Newman that one James Meddows might be partaker with him of the gain of that book: who at the last by the means of Bowman, had the book, and went over to Middleburgh to print it. Is there such gain in selling of infamous libels?

Further it doth appear by a letter of Throkmorton's to Bowman that while the book was in printing, "he had a great longing to have some of the books that were now, as it seemeth, finished." Even as foolish parents long to see their children; so he was desirous to see that work which he without any pain and great merriment had brought forth into the world.

Finally albeit Penry joined with Throgmorton in making most of these libels, and made divers others himself: yet was Master Throkmorton's hand either in some part of them, or at the least in the dispersing of them. Let him take heed he have not the like issue with him!

When Waldegrave had printed Penry's *Appellation* [dated 7 March 1590], and *Some in his colours:* he came to Throgmorton to know what he would have done with them. Penry found him there as Newman deposeth. Deposed by Newman and Holmes.

He saith also further that when Godley [*the father-in-law of Penry*] his house at Northampton was searched for such matters, of which one Garnet of that town brought him word [beforehand]: he packed up 500 of *Martin's Protestation*, 500 of Penry's *Appellation*, and 600 of the books called *Some in his colours;* and sent them by the said Newman and Garnet to Banbury. Throkmorton a merchant, and distractor of libels.

Newman thinketh *Martin's Protestation* was printed with ink sent by James Meddows to Throkmorton's house, and that not without his privity.

He was the man that provided printers and merchants [*salesman*] for the books set out under the name of *Martin* [*Marprelate*] and Penry, as is evident by the depositions of Newman and Holmes, and Hodgeskin and his men. Upon him was the special care laid for the correct and orderly printing of all their devices. He sent about to London, yea, into France and Scotland about all those matters. He was the special agent for John Penry. Augustine Maicock deposeth that he collected money in Throkmorton, a Principa Agent in printing and selling of seditious books, and directing and helping those that were employed therein

London towards PENRY's relief, and the payment of his debts.

If any danger were towards the printers and sellers of his books, intelligence was given straight to J. THROKMORTON. GARNET of Northampton brought him notice how GODLEY's house was searched. SHARPE, being examined concerning these matters, sent him a note that he had confessed. [*See the Abstract of his confession at pp.* 94–104.] NEWMAN served as it were for a foot post to go too and fro to give intelligence how matters went. Good it was for him that he was a cobbler, for if he had not been able to mend his shoes himself, he had never been able to bear the charges.

Deposed by NEWMAN.

If there was any danger towards [them], THROKMORTON first used to give his [ac]complices warning. In a certain letter of his to MAICOCK he "giveth him warning to look how he trusted BOWMAN."

When JOHN PENRY lurked here and there like a fox, yet was he never so closely hid but that THROKMORTON knew where he was: as doth appear by the description of JENKIN JONES; who by his means found him in a certain odd ale house, eighteen miles from Fawsley.

When the sun began to shine so hot in England that PENRY could not abide it, but must seek for a colder region [*i.e. Scotland*] to live in; THROKMORTON was the man that set him in his way [*in Oct.* 1589, *see p.* 172], and furnished him with money.

If any material occurents fell out, he failed not thereof to advertise PENRY. In one letter having gibed at the State, he writeth thus in derision of Her Majesty and her government. "O Sir," saith he, "hath not Her Majesty reigned prosperously! and is it a time, think you! to alter these and so many blessings bestowed upon us; to raise turmoils and innovations, and to pull the crown off her head? Well, your Worship (saith he, meaning PENRY) will not meddle with any of these kind of seditious people."

THROKMORTON's letter to PENRY into Scotland, under a counterfeit name.

He doth also certify him of UDALL's [on 13. January 1590], CARTWRIGHT's and others' imprisonment: and of the taking of the press and copy [*manuscript*] of *More work* in Lancashire, "by the noble Earl of DERBY," for so he writeth in scorn of his Lordship, as the circumstance of the place declareth. He signifieth unto him further, that the printers then taken

had confessed "that *Martin* was made by Penry and one of the Throkmortons." In the latter end, he writeth "that Her Majesty had lately been in danger of poisoning, and that other shrewd plots had been laid against her, and all by Penry!" Great pity it is, seeing the man was so busy, that he is not called to render a reason for these sayings.

Wherefore albeit some doubt hath been made heretofore, who was the Author of those seditious and impious pamphlets that in front carry the name of *Martin* [*Marprelate*]: yet these reasons grounded upon the depositions and oaths of divers men, and kept in records—to be seen of as many as list to take copies of them—being well considered; I trust there is none will deny but that Throkmorton was a Principal Agent in them all, and the man that principally deserveth the name of *Martin*.

Nay, so little doth he repent him of his insolent misdemeanour formerly used, that he calleth Udall and Penry, two most factious persons, and which for defaming Her Majesties government, and railing and libelling against the State, were condemned by course of the Common Laws, *Reverend men*. A matter to be marvelled at, but that malecontents that rail against their governors do ordinarily commend malefactors and seditious persons. The Papists do register divers for Martyrs and Confessors that in public records in this realm are noted and registered for felons and traitors; and Master Throkmorton, if he continue this course long, will not come far behind them. For albeit he take them not, for aught that I can learn, for Consistorial Martyrs, yet he accounted them *Reverend Men*: which is nothing else but a plain testimony of the Consistorians' cankered malice against the State, of their presumption in acquitting those whom the judges condemned, of their proud disdain against justice, and of their love and liking of felons and malefactors. . . . *fol.* 70–74. *Ed.* 1595.

Doth he then imagine that it is no unlawful thing to set forth such books as those which go under *Martin* [*Marprelate*]'s name? Why then did he not set his name to them, and avow them? That they are most wicked and villainous his own conscience did teach him, That was the cause that he so oftentimes, after the manner of Jesuits, that go about disguised to work mischief,

Throkmorton often changed his name.

used to change his name: calling himself sometimes Master JUELL, sometimes Master WARNER, sometimes Master GRIVEL, sometimes Master STONE, sometimes Master ROBINSON, sometimes Master GRAVENER, sometimes Master TOMSON; that also caused him to change the name of those to whom he wrote; calling MAYCOCK, MAY; and BOWMAN, ARCHER. A practise much used by HACKET and COPINGER, but seldom used by any honest man.

This appeareth by BOWMAN's and MAYCOCK's depositions.

Few honest men have so many names, and use to counterfeit names.

But had Master THROKMORTON's conscience been seared and past feeling so that he could not discern the wickedness of *MARTIN* [*MARPRELATE*]*'s* writings: yet the writings themselves do testify against the Author.

At religion he maketh a jest, gibing and scoffing in most serious matters. The holy Virgin and mother of GOD, that cursed seed of HAM! calleth in derision, sir MARY; and the holy apostle Saint PETER, he calleth sir PETER as if he were but a common priest, and much unlike and inferior to the Lords of the Consistory!

Forgetting the matter he hath in hand, he holloaeth! shouteth! and whoopeth! like a man of Bedlam, and cryeth so! ho! ho! Forgetting himself, he falleth in[to] scorning with terms unworthy to be spoken or written.

What should I speak of his malicious railing against many honest men that never thought him hurt? He spareth none! Both the Queen, the Lords and the Judges feel the smart of his stinging and malicious tongue.

I need not shew his wicked and spiteful railing against the ministery of the church; for that was the purpose of all his discourses: and already I think you are weary to hear the injurious speeches he hath uttered against them. The Scriptures he abuseth. Laws and Authority he contemneth. At the fathers of the church, like a most wicked imp, he raileth. . . . . *fol.* 75.

Wherefore seeing so many witnesses, and so many presumptions and proofs make against THROKMORTON; and his own conscience and handwriting doth so charge him that his own tongue cannot discharge him: he must seek us some better argument than his own protestation and oath to clear him, or else all men will henceforth take him for the mazed fellow that was author of *MARTIN* [*MARPRELATE*], and judge him worthy the reward of his fellow PENRY—*fol.* 75.

An Introductory Sketch to the *Martin Marprelate Controversy.*

SECTION VII.

Who were the Writers who wrote under the name of *Martin Marprelate?*

PAGES

I. Rev. H. M. Dexter, D.D. Argument for assigning the Authorship to Henry Barrow 187–192

II. The present Writer's belief on this subject 193–196

III. A provisional Chronological List of the works comprising this Controversy 197–200

Argument by the Rev. H. M. Dexter, *D.D., of New Bedford, Massachusetts, U.S., in favour of the authorship being assigned to* Henry Barrow.

The Rev. Doctor Dexter having studied this subject for many years, frequently crossing the Atlantic to consult the original documents, it is with great pleasure we here insert his opinion, based on a long acquaintance with the Controversy. From which, however, as will be seen at *pp.* 193–196, we ourselves differ totally.

I Suggest on the question of the authorship of the Martinist tracts of what is known as the *Martin Mar-Prelate* controversy, the following considerations, viz.:

I. *The weight of evidence is against the theory that John Penry was their Author.*

(1) There is nothing in the affidavits bearing upon the case which directly fixes their authorship upon him. The most which is proven is only that people imagined him to be the author; and, in connection with his obvious and acknowledged agency in securing their printing, charged him with it; while he laughed, or turned it off without absolute denial. It was vital to success in publishing these tracts, in those times, that the most *absolute* secrecy should be as long as possible maintained as to who wrote them, and for him then to have squarely denied that he wrote them, would have been more of a concession than it was wise to make, so long as the best interests of the enterprise demanded that the circle of possible authors be kept as wide as might be, so as to diffuse and distract suspicion. Clearly, however, he said and did nothing inconsistent with the theory that some other person with whom he was in close concert, was the author. That the handwriting of a portion of the "copy" was conjectured to be Penry's [*Lansdowne*, lxi. 22] is a small matter; for he might have copied that MS. (in order as much as possible to throw pursuers off the scent) without being the author of it.

(2) There is nothing in the style and manner of PENRY's acknowledged works to make it probable that he wrote the Martinist tracts. It was, indeed, at the time suggested that "the stile and spiritt" of those tracts resembled "such his wrytinges as he hath published with his name to them." [*Lansd.* lxi. 22.] But that witness was careful to add that this was true only of *MARTIN* "where he is out of his scoffinge veyne;" that is, if I understand it, it was his judgment that the Martinist tracts *with their most marked peculiarity left out* were like PENRY's volumes published with his name. However that may be, I submit that his known treatises are so unlike the Martinist tracts as they are [Hamlet with Hamlet left in], as to discredit the theory of a common source for the two. PENRY's books show plenty of power, sometimes a rude and plaintive eloquence, sometimes a severe invective; but in my examination of them I have failed to find that brusque, strong, coarse, homely wit and queer sarcasm with which *MARTIN* abounds, nor have I discovered *MARTIN*'s most peculiar turns of expression and favorite epithets.

(3) It is difficult to see, with all his acknowledged books on his hands, and all else which he clearly had to do, how PENRY, in the difficulties under which he worked, could have found time to have prepared some of the Martinist tracts, at the precise moment when they must have been written. *Hay any work, etc.*, for example, was issued in a very short time after the *Admonition* came out, and it hardly seems probable that PENRY could have managed to do that work.

(4) When the prelates had PENRY in their clutches, and were proceeding to hang him, they clearly did not dare to put him on trial as the author of the Martinist tracts—although they had all the evidence which ever existed upon the subject then in their possession, and were not given to any special scrupulosity as to any precise amount of testimony as being requisite to the conviction of those whom they desired to convict—but, instead, they were guilty of the meanness of trying, condemning and hanging him upon extracts from what really appears to have been his private journal, and from what clearly never had been *published* in any form whatever. Would they have risked the odium of such a course if they had in their hands colourable proof that he was *MARTIN?*

(5) Contemporaries whose opinion was surely entitled to be well weighed, were of opinion that PENRY did not write the Martinist tracts. WIGGINGTON, when asked before the commission, "Is Mr. PENRY then the author of *MARTIN MAR-PRELATE?*" replied, "I think he is not; and I think you are greatly deceived in charging him with it." [cited by Dr. WADDINGTON, *Life of Penry*, 227, *as from MS. Register*, 843–848.] So UDALL declared: "I am fully persuaded that these books [the *MARTINS*] were not done *by any minister;* and I think there is never a minister in this land that doth know who '*MARTIN*' is; and I, for my part, have been

inquisitive, but I could never learn who is." [*Ibid.* 228.] and again, "*I do not think him* [Penry] *to be Martin.*" [*Ibid.* 227.]

(6) There is evidence that Penry himself solemnly denied that he was the author of the Martinist publications. Udall said, "When first it [*i.e. Martin*] came out (understanding that some gave out that he was thought to be the author) he [Penry] wrote a letter to a friend in London, wherein he did deny it, with such terms as declare him to be ignorant and clear in it." [Waddington's *Penry*, 227, *as from* "*New Discovery*," 3. (See *p.* 172.)] And John Cotton of New England says [in his *Reply to Mr. Williams, etc.* (1647) 117) that "he received it from Mr. Hildersom (a man of a thousand) that Mr. Penry did ingenuously acknowledge before his death" that he "had not deserved death for any dishonor put upon the Queene, by that Booke (which was found in his study, and intended by himselfe to be presented to her owne hand) *nor by the compiling of Martin Mar-Prelate* (*of both of which he was falsly charged*)." Mr. Maskell [*Hist. Mar. Mar-Prel. Contr. etc.* 107] accepts this as, on the whole, conclusive in disproof of the charge.

For these reasons, then, that the affidavits are insufficient and explicable on another theory; that there is not the requisite resemblance between Penry's books and the *Martin Mar-Prelate* tracts to make a common authorship probable; that it is difficult to see how Penry could have found time to prepare some of them; that the prelates apparently did not dare to submit even to a submissive jury the allegation against Penry that he was *Martin*; that contemporaries in a condition to form an opinion worthy of confidence did not believe Penry to be *Martin*; and especially for the reason that there is evidence that he himself in life and at the hour of death solemnly denied the charge, I hold that the weight of evidence is conclusively against the theory that John Penry was *Martin Mar-Prelate*.

II. *The field thus being cleared for general investigation, are there any clues suggesting inquiry in any particular direction?* I find three, viz: (1) The remark of Udall—already cited—as to his disbelief that "any minister was *Martin.*"

(2) The declaration of *Martin* himself where, in the *Protestacyon*; all badinage aside, he seems to be speaking with a seriousness almost saddened into solemnity, and says: "Will you believe me then if I tel you the truth? to put you therefore out of all doubt, I may safely protest vnto you with a good conscience, that howsoever the speech may sound strange vnto many, yet the very truth is that hitherto I never had wife nor childe in all my life [p. 15]." So he returns to the subject on the last page to say again, "As I protested vnto thee without all fraud and ambiguitie, I was never as yet married in my life." [*Ibid.* 32*r*]

(3) Certain signs that a lawyer, rather than a minister, was the author

of these *MARTINS*. I find plenty of phrases more natural, as I conceive, to the working of a mind trained to the law, than to that of one trained to theology. Such as :—"you would *mende your answere*" [*Epistle, etc.*, 14]; "lest *a Scandalum magnatum* should be had against me, etc." [*Ibid.* 23]; "the parties were never *calde in Coram* for it, etc. [*Ibid.* 14]; "a poor *freeholder* in Fulham" [*Ibid.* 21]; a gentleman of Fulham that belongeth to *the Court of Requests*, etc." [*Ibid.* 20]; "my masters of *the Requests*, etc." [*Ibid.* 20]; "may it please you to yeeld vnto *a suite* that I haue to your worships, etc." [*Ibid.* 27]; "and leave *the cause*, as he, like a coward, hath done, etc." [*Ibid.* 17]; "he bringeth in nothing *without testimonie*, etc. [*Ibid.* 9]; "I speak not of things *by heresay*, as of reports, but I *bring my witnesses to prove my matters*, etc." [*Ibid.* 27]; "*MARTIN* wil stand to it, that the detayning of the men's cloth is *plain theft*, etc." [*Ibid.* 10]. Then, further, there are turns of argument which look in the same direction, as where *MARTIN* insists that his book cannot be indicted as a libel, showing how he has prevented them "*of that advantage in lawe*, etc" [*Ibid.* 40]; his discussion of the subject of *treason* [*Ibid.* 13, 14]; his references to the Star-Chamber decree [*Ibid.* 24]; his again and again threatening the bishops with a *premunire*, etc. [*Ibid.* 21 (*bis*), 22, 26, 32]; and his repeated discussion of the case of subscription contrary to the statute of 13 Elizabeth, what subscription that statute required, and whether a layman could lawfully be imprisoned for refusing to subscribe [*Ibid.* 38, 31, 32]. These instances all occur in the first of the series of tracts, but it is my impression that they fairly sample the six others which appear to have been from the same hand. And I cannot help thinking that, taken in connection with UDALL's suggestion, they may fairly turn our thoughts towards the legal profession as containing *MARTIN*. Was there, then—putting these clues together—any bachelor lawyer at that time so endowed, situated, principled and persuaded, as to have been naturally capable of this authorship?

The minds of all clear students of the men and the opinions of the time must turn at once to HENRY BARROWE—close prisoner, since the autumn of 1586, in the Fleet—as answering, in most respects of natural gift, training and conviction, very nearly to our need. It is moreover clear that a close intimacy soon afterwards existed between him and JOHN PENRY, with no evidence that it did not date back far enough to cover all the needs of the case.

Following this suggestion, I find remarkable similarities of style between BARROWE's acknowledged works—and especially between his great work, *A Brief Discoverie of the False Church*, etc. (1590)—and the Mar-Prelate Tracts. The same remark is true of one book signed "J. G.," and ascribed to JOHN GREENWOOD, in writing which (so decidedly does it, in parts, seem to differ in style from other books bearing his name) I am

persuaded Barrowe had a considerable hand. Incarcerated together, and paired in nearly all their later experiences, even to their hour of execution, and assuredly joint authors of several volumes, I imagine both pens worked also upon this.

Many epithets not in common use are common to Barrowe's and *Martin*'s books, among which may be named "this geare;" "Masse [for Master or Masters] vice chancellor, etc.;" "arch-beast" [as a synonym for archbishop, etc. [*Brief Discoverie, etc.* 52, 83, 144, *etc.*]. There is a like freedom of epithet, *e.g.* Barrowe calls some man "an old Sadducee that thus sophisticallie hath propounded these questions, etc." [*Ibid.* 202]; he calls another "an old captious Sadducee" [*Ibid.* 221]; he says of the bishops and priests, "these cormorants are never satisfied, these horse-leaches still suck, though blood in abundance runne oute of their wide mouths." [*Ibid.* 60]; he says again—"here need not be forgotten also the sweete psalmodical harmonie of the Vultures, Crowes, Gleades, Owles, Geese (pardon me, for thus the Holy Ghost termeth and likeneth the prophane confuse multitudes assembled in the false church)," etc. [*Ibid.* 180]; and again he describes the English clergymen as occupying "a prescript place like a tubbe called their pulpyt," where the speaker "for the most part disputes to the howerglasse, which being runne his sermonation must be at an end" [*Ibid.* 180]. Still again he describes the way in which the Bishops ordain, thus: "they [the candidates] must now kneel downe at their holy father the Bishop his feete, who solemnly sitting in a chaire layeth his simoniacal hands upon him, delivereth him the Bible into his hands, breatheth upon him and giveth, or rather selleth him his *un*-holy Ghost, as he [the candidate] shall know by the price of his boxe and writinges ere he goe," etc. [*Ibid.* 52]. He says of Dr. Some, "By following this bird over far, I had almost beene trained from the nest" [*Ibid.* 173]. He thunders thus at the monks: "these idle bellies, these caterpillars, these Sodomites, these locusts" [*Ibid.* 137]. Take two more examples, which might almost have come out of the "Epistle" or the "Epitome:" this in milder vein: "these sycophants, these trencher-priests, will most cunningly insinuate into some great or noble man's house, where they are sure to be wel fed, and safe from all stormes: even the meanest of them will never be without their good hosts and dames where they may lay their knife aboard and fill their belly of the best" [*Ibid.* 145]; and this in severer mood: "Is this old rotten Lietourgis their new songs they sing unto the Lord, with and for his graces? May such old written rotten stuffe be called prayer, the odours of the saintes?" [*Ibid.* 65]. I cannot help thinking that the man who could write thus could have written *Martin*.

I submit—in the briefest form—five further suggestions in aid of this hypothesis.

1. *MARTIN* was perpetually pleading to be allowed a public conference, or disputation with the Bishops upon the matters in debate between them—again and again offering, so sure was he of the goodness of his cause before the tribunal of inspiration, to abide by the result of such a discussion, fairly conducted, with his life. We find BARROWE, in his own avowed volumes, strenuously and repeatedly urging and offering the same thing.

2. *MARTIN* talks about the principal Puritans, and especially about CARTWRIGHT, precisely as BARROWE did again and again.

3. BARROWE refers incidentally to *MARTIN* several times in his *Brief Discoverie*, but never in such a manner as to imply hostility, or even intimate dislike. Once he says: "It is pitty *MARTIN* his presse was gone before this reason had an answer" [*Ibid.* 228]. More to the point is it that in a "Petition directed to her Majesty, etc. (1590)," and attributed to BARROWE, we find, at the length of several pages, an elaborate defence of *MARTIN* in two points as to which he had been accused of stirring up sedition, in which it is asserted that his real intent was far otherwise [*Petition, etc.*, 44, 45]. How did BARROWE know what was *MARTIN*'s real intent?

4. In the *Protestacyon*, *MARTIN* makes use of these words: "As for myself, my life and whatever else I possesse, I haue long agone set vp my rest, making that account of it, as in standing against the enemies of God, and for the libertie of his church is of no value in my sight. My life in this cause shalbe a gayne to the church, and no losse to my selfe, I knowe right wel" [p. 14]. This was the spirit, the almost the exact words, in which BARROWE accepted martyrdom.

5. It does not seem unworthy of notice in this connection, that there was there almost an audacity of security in the difficult business of publishing such treatises at such a time, if a man already for years in prison were writing these *MARTINS*—nearly the last place on earth where the Bishops would think of looking for him.

And this leads me to say that if BARROWE *were MARTIN*, and PENRY nearly the only man then outside the Fleet prison who was master of the secret, we must think that, in the midst of the sharpness of all their troubles, the two men must sometimes have broken out into a noisy—almost an uproarious—glee at the inherent queerness of the thought of the Bishops and their bailiffs, scurrying up and down the land, and of BANCROFT listening at the general English key-hole, in the frantic endeavour to identify and arrest an impudent antagonist, whom they had already had for more than two long years locked in one of their safest dungeons!

And, further, if BARROWE were *MARTIN*, and PENRY the only accessory, as the two men took the close secret to heaven with them within sixty days of each other in 1593, it is small wonder that it has been so well kept since on earth.

II.

The present Writer's belief on this subject.

During the earlier inquiries of the English Government as to the Writers and Disseminators of the Martinist productions, the following Note (written apparently about October 1589) expresses the opinions as to the Authors and places of printing which were, at that moment, entertained.

Bookes printed.

Demonstration of Discipline, } per UDALL at Mistress CRANES.
MARTIN's first *Epistle* }

MARTIN's Epitome at Sir RICHARD KNIGHTLEYS.

The Minerals [*Conclusions*] }
The Supplication to the Parliament } per PENREE at Master HALES at Coventry.
Hay anie worke for Cowper }

MARTIN Junior }
MARTIN Senior } at Master WIGSTONS at Wolston.

Mr. BAKER's *Transcript*, Harl. M.S. 7042, *p.* 56.

It is evident, from this, that the authorship of the *Epitome*, *MARTIN Junior* and *MARTIN Senior* had not, at this date, been ascertained.

2. The *Demonstration of Discipline*, though named here, is not strictly in the Martinist Series any more than *DIOTREPHES*. Both of these works were, without any doubt, wholly from the pen of the Rev. JOHN UDALL (*pp.* 121, 171).

Rev. S. CHATFIELD saw, so early as 1587 (*pp.* 81, 88) in UDALL's study, "Collections" or Notes which were afterwards worked up into the *Epistle*. UDALL himself witnessed

that the generall historie of the thinges conteyned in the booke [*the Epistle*], he thinketh to haue proceeded from his owne reportes, touching Master HONE, Master COTTINGTON

and Master HARVEY; but the particularities of them hee hath not vttered, as the revylinge of them &c.—*p.* 92.

If we can identify the Utterer of the "particularities . . . as the revylinge &c." we have found *MARTIN MARPRELATE*.

This sufficiently justifies PENRY's statement about the *Epistle* to SHARPE, the Rev. JOHN FIELD having died in February 1588.

that some such notes were found in Master FEILDS Study, that Master FEILD upon his death bed willed they should be burnt, and repented for collecting them.—*p.* 94.

UDALL's threat to "sett himself to writing" (*pp.* 83, 91) was never carried out: and Lord Chief Justice ANDERSON himself, on the 9th January 1590, exonerated UDALL from any share in the Martinist attack (*p.* 171).

4. PENRY told SHARPE that the first press was his own (*p.* 95). He evidently corrected the *Epistle* at Mistress CRANE's at East Molesey while WALDEGRAVE was printing it (*pp.* 95, 126). He was undoubtedly the Managing Director of the printing till one of the presses was sent to Manchester (*p.* 115). When it was seized there, he and SHARPE were at Wolston (*p.* 103).

But the substantive Authorship of the Mind of the Martinist Texts is quite a different thing from proof correction and the mechanical production, difficult as this last was.

Did then some Utterer of the "particularities . . . as the revylinge &c." (like BARROW, as Rev. Dr. DEXTER thinks) supply PENRY with the matter, the correct printing of which he oversaw: or was he wholly or partially an Author of the same?

5. In all the statements of UDALL, PENRY and THROCKMORTON on this subject we must be prepared for the utmost subtilty of mind. It was their only defence in the battle of Wit against Force. Just as PENRY meant that SHARPE should believe that FIELD was the Author of the *Epistle* by using, as if casually, the expression "some such notes:" when really those notes had been acerbated and intensified by others: so UDALL strove to exonerate PENRY from all share in the Martinist writings by a similar "colour" or subtilty, giving as a reason that PENRY was not *MARTIN*.

when it first came out, he (understanding that some gave out that he was thought to bee the author) wrote a letter to a friend in *London*, wherein he did deny it, with such tearmes as declare him to bee ignorant and cleere in it.—*p.* 172.

Unless this letter was so couched, as to be a blind (one of the innumerable blinds the Martinists ever had at their disposal), we must accept this as clearing PENRY of any substantive Authorship in the *Epistle:* for "when first it came out" fixes the date of this letter in November 1588; and does not touch the later Martinist productions. Both SHARPE and NEWMAN however thought PENRY to be the Author of both *Epistle* and *Epitome* (*pp.* 96–97).

6. Who then is the Utterer of the "particularities . . . as the revylinge &c." of the *Epistle?*

By the process of exhaustion, we have come to the last name — JOB THROCKMORTON: of whom the Rev. MATTHEW SUTCLIFFE says, in 1595—

> Such a braue cutter in kitchen rhetorike is he, neither need he to put vs in mind of his facultie therein: for we are but too much acquainted with it. Least of all should he haue bragged how nimbly hee is able to raile *without sweate or pains.*—*p.* 79.

And again—

> *JOHN PENRY*, say I, *JOHN UDALL*, *JOHN FIELD; all JOHNS: and JOB THROKMORTON: all concurred in making MARTIN.*—*p.* 175.

And again—

> Let him disguise the name as he will, and call himself now *MARTIN*, then *MARPRELATE;* or give to PENRY the name of *MARTIN* and to himself the name of *MARPRELATE*, as if *MARTIN MARPRELATE* were a monster compounded of divers persons and much wicked scurrility and ribaldry.—*p.* 179.

7. SHARPE charged PENRY at the time of its appearance, 2 Feb. 1589, with being the Author of the *Epitome.* "Whereunto Master PENRY gave no answere but laughed" (*p.* 96). If THROCKMORTON were part or whole Author of the *Epistle*: he had a hand likewise in this second work.

8. And also, probably, in the *Mineral Conclusions*, the MS. of which SHARPE saw in PENRY's handwriting (*p.* 97) before it appeared in print.

9. The *Supplication* is avowedly by JOHN PENRY, and has his name at the end of it.

10. SHARPE assigns *Hay any work for Cowper* to PENRY (*p.* 99); and SUTCLIFFE, upon NEWMAN's evidence, states that he was "the Corrector

and part Author of that book" (*p.* 176). THROCKMORTON was probably the other joint Author.

11. SUTCLIFFE (at *pp.* 176–179), by a chain of proofs, starting from *Hay any work*, proves that PENRY and THROCKMORTON were the joint Authors of

MARTIN Senior
MARTIN Junior} printed at Wolston.

More work for Cowper, of which about a Six Quires of one side had been printed in Newton Lane, near Manchester: when the Press was seized (*p.* 135).

12. That being the case, they were also the Writers of the following Martinist works which never came to the press.

A book in Latin (*p.* 135), probably in answer to *Anti-MARTINUS*.

Another part of *More Work for the Cowper*, almost as big again as that the printing of which was interrupted by the arrest of the printers in Newton Lane (*p.* 135).

13. Newman thought that

MARTIN's Protestation was printed with ink sent by JAMES MEDDOWS to THROKMORTON's house, and that not without his privity.—*p.* 181.

14. In addition to all these works, SUTCLIFFE charges, (*p.* 180), THROCKMORTON with being the Author of

MARTIN's Interim, or a briefe Pistle to the cursed Prelates and Clergy; which he sent to PENRY in Scotland, apparently for publication: but which was seized, and so never came to the press.

The crops and flowers of BRIDGES' garden; printed by JAMES MEDDOWS at Middleburgh. ? now extant.

J. G. *Master SOME laid open in his coulers*, printed by ROBERT WALDEGRAVE at Rochelle (*p* 179).

15. It seems therefore indubitable, that the real Martinists — the begetters of all the works that were secretly printed as from *MARTIN MARPRELATE*, and without whom they would not have existed—were the Rev. JOHN PENRY, who was unrighteously hanged for it, and JOB THROCKMORTON Esq., of whom SUTCLIFFE says (*p.* 184) that "else all men will henceforth take him for the mazed fellow that was author of *MARTIN* [*MARPRELATE*], and judge him worthy the reward of his fellow PENRY.

16. PENRY has long been known in our literary history. Henceforth THROCKMORTON must be placed by his side. The two together are the most eminent prose Satirists of the Elizabethan age.

A Provisional Chronological List of the Works comprising this Controversy.

FORERUNNING WORKS.

Rev. Dr. **John Bridges**, Dean of Salisbury. *A Defence of the Government established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiasticall Matters.* London 1587.
This work was the groundwork of the whole Martinist attack.
[*PROTESTANT.*]

[Rev. **J. Udall.**] *DIOTREPHES.* [Printed by R. WALDEGRAVE on 13 April, 1588.]
See No. 5 of the present Series. [*PURITAN.*]

[Rev. **J. Udall.**] *The Demonstration of Discipline etc.* [Secretly printed at East Molesey in July, and issued between 1 and 14 Nov. 1588.]
See No. 9 of the present Series. [*PURITAN.*]

THE CONTROVERSY.

1588.

Martin Marprelate. *The Epistle.* [Secretly printed at East Molesey in October, and issued with the *Demonstration* between 1 and 14 Nov. 1588.]
Oh read ouer D. John Bridges, for it is a worthy worke:
Or an epitome of the fyrste Booke of that right worshipfull volume, written against the Puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, John Bridges, Presbyter, Priest or elder, doctor of Diuilitie, and Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wisely prevented, that when they come to answere M. Doctor, they must needes say something that hath bene spoken.
Compiled for the behoofe and overthrow of the Parsons, Fyckers, and Currats, that have lernt their Catechismes, and are past grace: By the reverend and worthie Martin Marprelate gentlemen, and dedicated to the Confocationhouse.
The Epitome is not yet published, but it shall be when the Byshops are at conuenient leysure to view the same. In the meane time, let them be content with this learned Epistle.
Printed oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bounsing Priest, at the cost and charges of M. Marprelate, gentleman. [*PURITAN.*]

1589.

T[homas]. C[ooper]. [Bishop of **Winchester**]. *Admonition to the people of England.* [Jan. 1589. ? Two editions.]
An admonition to the people of England: VVherein are ansvvered, not onely the slaunderous vntruethes, reprochfully *vttered by* Martin *the Libeller, but also* many other Crimes by some of his broode, *objected generally against all Bishops, and the* chiefe of the Cleargie, purposely to *deface and discredite the present* state of the Church. [*PROTESTANT.*]

Martin Marprelate. *The Epitome.* [Secretly printed at Fawsley in Nov.–Dec. 1588, and issued about 2 Feb. 1589.]
Oh read ouer D. John Bridges, for it is worthy worke:
Or an epitome of the fyrste Booke, of that right worshipfull volume, written against the Puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, John Bridges, Presbyter, Priest or elder, doctor of Diuillitie, and Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wisely prevented, that when they come to answere M. Doctor, they must needes say some thing that hath been spoken.
Compiled for the behoofe and overthrow of the vnpreaching Parsons, Fyckers, and Currats, that haue lernt their Catechismes, and are past grace: By the reverend and worthy Martin Marprelat, gentleman, and dedicated by a second Epistle to the Terrible Priests.
In this Epitome, the foresaide Fickers etc. are very insufficiently furnished, with notable inabilitie of most vincible reasons, to answere the cauill of the puritanes.
And lest M. Doctor shomld thinke that no man can write without sence but his selfe, the senceles titles of the seueral pages, and the handling of the matter throughout the Epitome, shewe plainely, that beetleheaded ignoraunce, must not liue and die with him alone.
Printed on the other hand of some of the Priests. [*PURITAN.*]

Martin Marprelate. *The Mineral Conclusions.* [Secretly printed at Coventry, and issued about 20 Feb. 1589.]

Certaine Minerall, and Metaphisicall Schoolpoints, to be defended by the reuerende Bishops, and the rest of my cleargie masters of the Conuocation house, against both the vniuersities, and al the reformed Churches in Christendome. Wherin is layd open, the very Quintessence of al Catercorner diuinities. And with all, to the preuenting to the Cauels of these wrangling Puritans, the persons by whom, and the places where these misteries are so worthely maintayned, are for the most part, plainly set downe to the view of all men, and that to the ternall prayse of the most reuerend Fathers. [*PURITAN.*]

[Rev. **R. Bancroft.** *Sermon at Paul's Cross on 9 Feb.* Ent. Stat. Hall 3 March, 1589: see p. 139.] [*PROTESTANT.*]

John Penry. *A Supplication to the Parliament.* [Secretly printed at Coventry, and issued about 9 March 1589.]

A viewe of some part of such *publike wants & disorders as are in the* seruice of God, within her Maiesties *countrie of VVales, togither with an humble* Petition, vnto this high Court of Parliament for speedy redresse.

¶ Wherein is shevved not only the necessitie of reforming the state of religion among that people, but also the onely way, in regarde of substaunce, to bring that reformation to pass. [*PURITAN.*]

Martin Marprelate. *Hay any work for Cooper.* [Secretly printed at Coventry, and issued about 23 March 1589.]

Hay any worke for Cooper:
Or a briefe Pistle directed by waye of an hublication to the reverende Byshopps, counselling them, if they will needs be barrelled vp, for feare of smelling in the nostrels of her Maiestie and the State, that they would vse the aduise of reuerend Martin, for the prouiding of their Cooper. Because the reuerend T. C. (by which misticall letters, is vnderstood, eyther the bounsing Parson of *Eastmeane*, or Tom Coakes his Chaplaine) hath shewed himself in his late Admonition to the people of England to bee an unskilfull and beceytfull tubtrimmer.
Wherein worthy Martin quits himselfe like a man I warrant you, in the modest defence of his selfe and his learned Pistles, and makes the Coopers hoopes to fly off, and the Bishops Tubs to leake out of all crye.
Penned and compiled by *Martin* the Metropolitane.
Printed in Europe, not farre from some of the Bounsing Priestes. [*PURITAN.*]

[?] A Whip for an Ape etc. [Privately printed in London, April 1589.]

This work was issued with two title pages. A Whip for an Ape, or Martin displayed.
And again with the same Latin motto. Rhythmes against Martin Marr-Prelate. [*PROTESTANT.*]

[?] Mar-Martin. [Privately printed in London April–May 1589.]

I know not why a trueth in rime set out
Maie not as wel mar Martine and his mates,
As shamelesse lies in prose-books cast about
Marpriests, & prelates, and subvert whole states.
For where truth builds, and lying overthroes,
One truth in rime, is worth ten lies in prose.
[*PROTESTANT.*]

[?] Marre Mar-Martin. [Privately printed in London May–June 1589.]

Marre Mar-Martin: *Or* Marre-Martins medling, in a *manner misliked.*
Martins vaine prose, Marre-Martin doth mislike,
Reason (forsooth) for Martin seekes debate:
Marre-Martin will not so; yet doth his patience strike:
Last verse, first prose, conclude in one selfe hate:
Both maintaine strife, vnfitting Englands state.
Martin, Marre-Martin, Barrow ioyned with Browne
Shew zeale: yet striue to pull Religion downe.
[*ATTACKS BOTH SIDES.*]

[Rev. **R. Some.** *A godly treatise . . . H. BARROWE and J. GREENWOOD &c.* Ent. Stat. Hall 24 May 1589: see *p.* 140.]
[*PROTESTANT.*]

[Rev. **T. Bland.** *A bayte for MOMUS &c.* Ent. Stat. Hall 7 June 1589: see *p.* 140.]
[*PROTESTANT.*]

[?] *ANTI-MARTINUS &c.* Ent. Stat. Hall 3 July 1589: see *p.* 140.
[*PROTESTANT.*]

Martin Marprelate. *These Martinianæ, or MARTIN Junior.* [Secretly printed at Wolston, and issued about 22 July 1589.]

THESES MARTINIANAE: That is, certaine demonstrative Conclusions, sette downe and collected (as it should seeme) by that famous and renowmed Clarke, the reuerend Martin Marprelate the great: seruing as a manifest and sufficient confutation of al that euer the Colledge of Catercaps with their whe band of Clergie-priests, haue, or can bring for the defence of their ambitious and Antichristian Prelacie.

Published and set foorth as an after-birth of the noble Gentlemen himselfe, by a prety stripling of his, MARTIN IVNIOR, *and dedicated by him to his good neame and nuncka, Maister* Iohn Kankerbury: *Hovv the young-man came by them, the Reader shall vnderstande sufficiently in the Epilogue. In the meane time, vvhosoeuer can bring mee acquainted with my father, Ile bee bounde hee shall not loose his labour.*

Printed by the assignes of Martin Iunior, without any priuiledge of the Catercaps.
[*PURITAN.*

Martin Marprelate. *MARTIN Senior.* [Secretly printed at Wolston, and issued about 29 July 1589.]

The iust censure and reproofe of Martin Iunior.

Wherein the rash and vndiscreete headines of the foolish youth, is sharply mette with, and the boy hath his lesson taught him, I warrant you, by his reuerend and elder brother Martin Senior, sonne and heire vnto the renowmed Martin Mar-prelate the Great.

Where also, least the springall shold be vtterly discouraged in his good meaning, you shall finde, that hee is not bereaued of his due commendations. [*PURITAN.*]

[?] *A Dialogue. Wherin is plainly laide open, the tyrrannicall dealing of L. Bishopps against Gods children. &c.* [*PURITAN.*]

? Printed by WALDEGRAVE at Rochelle in the summer of 1589.

Pasquill of England. *A Counter cuffe to MARTIN Junior.* [Privately printed in London, Aug.] 1589. [*PROTESTANT.*]

Marphoreus. *MARTIN's Month's Mind.* [Privately printed in London, Aug.] 1589.

Martins Months minde, that is, *A certaine report, and true description of the* Death, and Funeralls, of olde *Martin Marre-prelate*, the great makebate of *England*, and father of the Factious.

Contayning the cause of his death, the manner of his buriall, and the right copies both of his Will, and of such Epitaphs, as by sundrie his dearest friends, and other of his well willers, were framed for him.

Martin the Ape, the dronke, and the madde,
The three Martins are, whose workes we haue had.
If Martin the fourth come, after Martins so euill,
Nor man, nor beast comes, but Martin the deuill. [*PROTESTANT.*]

Martin Marprelate. *The Protestation.* [Secretly printed at Haseley about Sept. 1589.]

The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat.

Wherin notwihstanding the surprizing of the printer, he maketh it known vnto the world that he feareth, neither proud priest, Antichristian pope, tiranous prellate, nor godlesse catercap: but defieth all the race of them by these presents and offereth conditionally, as is farthere expressed hearein by open disputation to apear in the defence of his cause against them and theirs.

Which chaleng if they dare not maintaine against him: then doth he alsoe publishe that he never meaneth by the assistaunce of god to leaue the assayling of them and theire generation vntill they be vterly extinguished out of our church.

Published by *the worthie gentleman D martin marprelate D. in all the faculties primat and metropolitan.* [*PURITAN*]

Double V. *Pappe with an Hatchet.* [Privately printed in London about Sept. 1589.]

Pappe with an hatchet. Alias, *A figge for my God sonne.* Or *Cracke me this nut.* Or *A Countrie cuffe, that is, a sounde boxe of the* eare, for the idiot *Martin* to hold his peace, seeing the patch will take no warning.

VVritten by one that dares call a dog, a dog, and made to preuent *Martins* dog daies.
Imprinted by *Iohn Anoke,* and *Iohn Astile,* for the Bayliue of Withernam, *cum priuilegio perennitatis,* and are to bee sold at the signe of the crab tree cudgell in thwackcoate lane.
A sentence. Martin hangs fit for my mowing. [*PROTESTANT.*]

Pasquil of England. *His Return.* [Privately printed in London. Oct. 1589.]
The Returne of the renowned Caualiero Pasquill of England, from the other side the Seas, and his meeting with Marforius at London vpon the Royall Exchange.
VVhere they encounter with a little household talke of Martin and Martinisme, discouering the scabbe that is bredde in England: and conferring together about the speedie dispersing of the golden Legende of the liues of the Saints.
If my breath be so hote that I burne my mouth, suppose I was Printed by Pepper Allie. [*PROTESTANT.*]

[**T. T.** *A Myrrour for Martynistes &c.* Ent. Stat. Hall, 22 Dec. 1589: see *p.* 140.] [*PROTESTANT.*]

1590.

[**L. Wright.** *An admonicion to MARTIN MARPRELAT &c.* Ent. Stat. Hall, 19 Jan. 1590: see *p.* 140.] [*PROTESTANT.*]

R[ichard] H[arvey]. *A Theological Discourse of the Lamb of God and his enemies:* Contayning a brief Commentarie of Christian faith and felicitie, together with a *detection* of old and new Barbarisme, now commonly called Martinisme. 1590. [*PROTESTANT.*]

P. P. P. [*i.e.*] *Plain Perceval the Peacemaker of England, his Reconciliation etc.* [1590.]
Plaine Percevall the Peacemaker of England.
Sweetly indevoring with his blunt persuasions to botch vp a Reconciliation between Mar-ton and Mar-tother.
Compiled by lawfull art, that is to say, without witch craft, or sorcery: and referred specially to the Meridian and pole Artichocke of Nomans Land: *but may serue generally without any great error, for more Countries than He speake of.*
Quis furor aut hos,
Aut hos, arma sequi. ferrúmque lacessere iussit.
Printed in Broad-streete at the signe of the Pack-staffe. [*NEUTRAL.*]

Cuthbert Curry-knave. *An Almond for a Parrot.* [1590.]
An Almond for a Parrat, *Or* Cutbert Curry-knaues *Almes.*
Fit for the knaue Martin, and the *rest of those impudent Beggers, that* can not be content to stay their stomakes with a Benefice, but they will needes breake their fastes with our Bishops.
Rimarum sum plenus.
Therefore beware (gentle Reader) you catch not the hicket with laughing.
Imprinted at a Place, not farre from a Place, by the Assignes of Signior Some-body, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Trouble-knaue Street, at the sign of the Standish. [*PROTESTANT.*]

[**J. Davies.** *Sir MARTEN MARR-PEOPLE &c.* Ent. Stat. Hall, 28 Oct. 1590: see *p.* 141.]

This Sketch is simply introductory. It does not touch the substance of the Controversy, which—like a faithful mirror—reflects the lights and shadows of the intensely earnest Christian life among the Protestants of England in the last years of the Virgin Queen.

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English Poetry.

9. S. DANIEL. DELIA. [Sonnets.] 1594.

10. T. CAMPION, M.D. Songs and Poems. 1601-1613.

11. Lyrics, Elegies, etc., by other Poets.

VOL. IV.

Small Paper. Cloth.

English Political, Naval, and Military History, etc. etc.

1. E. UNDERHILL 'the Hot Gospeller' Imprisonment in 1553, with Anecdotes of Queen MARY's Coronation Procession, WYATT's Rebellion, the Marriage of PHILIP and MARY, etc.

2. J. FOX. The Imprisonment of the Princess ELIZABETH. 1554-1555.

3. Texts relating to the Winning of Calais and Guisnes by the French in January 1556.

4. The Coronation Procession of Queen ELIZABETH. January 1559.

5. Sir THOMAS OVERBURY. Observations of Holland, Flanders, and France in 1609. A most sagacious Political Study.

6. JAMES I. The Book of Sports. 1618.

7. Abp. G. ABBOTT. Narrative of his Sequestration from Office in 1627 by CHARLES I., at the instigation of BUCKINGHAM and LAUD.

8. Major-General Sir T. MORGAN. Progress [*i.e. March*] in France and Flanders with the 6000 'Red Coats' at the taking of Dunkirk, etc., in 1657-8.

English Voyages, Travels, Commerce, etc. etc.

9. The first Britons who ever reached the city of Mexico: T. BLAKE, a Scotchman, before 1536; and J. FIELD and R. TOMSON, 1556.

10. The wonderful Recovery of the *Exchange* from forty-five Turkish pirates of Algiers by J. RAWLINS and twenty-four other slaves. February 1622.

English Life and Progress.

11. T. GENTLEMAN. England's Way to Win Wealth. [Fisheries.] The Dutch obtained more wealth from their Herring Fishery *along the English shores* than the Spaniards did from their American gold mines.

English Poetry.

12. ? T. OCCLEVE. The Letter of CUPID. 1402.

13. L. SHEPHERD. JOHN BON and Mast[er] PARSON. [A Satire on the Mass.] 1551.

14. Rev. T. BRICE. A Register of the Tormented and Cruelly Burned within England. 1555-1558. These verses give the names of most of the Marian Martyrs.

15. J. C. ALCILIA; PHILOPARTHEN'S loving folly! [Love Poems.] 1595.

16. G. WITHER. Fair VIRTUE, the Mistress of PHIL'ARETE. 1622. This is WITHER'S masterpiece. Over 6000 lines of verse in many metrical forms.

17. The Songs that JOHN DOWLAND, the famous Lutenist, set to music.

VOL. V.

Small Paper. Cloth.

English Political, Naval, and Military History, etc. etc.

1. J. SAVILE, King JAMES's Entertainment at Theobalds, and his Welcome to London. 1603.

2. G. DUGDALE. The Time Triumphant. King JAMES's Coronation at Westminster, 25 July 1603; and Coronation Procession [delayed by the Plague], 15 March 1604.

English Voyages, Travels, Commerce, etc. etc.

3. The Voyages to Brazil of WILLIAM HAWKINS, Governor of Plymouth and father of Sir JOHN, about 1530.

4. Sir J. HAWKINS. First Voyage to the West Indies, 1562-1563. This was the beginning of the English Slave Trade.

5. R. BODENHAM. A Trip to Mexico. 1564-1565.

6. Sir J. HAWKINS. Second Voyage to the West Indies. 1564-1565.

7. Sir J. HAWKINS. Third and disastrous Voyage to the West Indies, 1567-1569: with the base treachery of the Spaniards at San Juan de Ulna, near Vera Cruz; and the extraordinary adventures of Three of the Survivors. This was DRAKE's 2nd Voyage to the West Indies; and the first in which he commanded a ship, the *Judith*.

8. Sir F. DRAKE's 3rd (1570), 4th (1571), and 5th (1572-73), Voyages to the West Indies. Especially the 5th, known as The Voyage to Nombre de Dios: in which, on 11 February 1573, he first saw the Pacific Ocean; and then besought GOD to give him life to sail once in an English ship on that sea. [See opposite page.]

English Life and Progress.

9. B. FRANKLIN. 'Poor Richard' improved. Proverbs of Thrift and to discourage useless expense. Philadelphia, 1757.

English Poetry.

10. B. BARNES. PARTHENOPHIL and PARTHENOPHE. Sonnets, Madrigals, Elegies and Odes. 1593. [A perfect Storehouse of Versification, including the only *treble* Sestine in our language.]

11. ZEPHERIA. [Canzons.] 1594.

12. Sir J. DAVIES. Orchestra or a Poem on Dancing. 1596.

13. B. GRIFFIN. FIDESSA, more chaste than kind. [Sonnets.] 1596.

14. Sir J. DAVIES. *Nosce teipsum!* In two Elegies: (1) Of Human Knowledge, (2) Of the Soul of Man and the Immortality thereof. 1599.

15. Sir J. DAVIES. Hymns of ASTRÆA [*i.e.* Queen ELIZABETH.] In acrostic verse. 1599.

VOL. VI.
Small Paper. Cloth.

English Political, Naval, and Military History, etc. etc.

1. The Examination, at Saltwood Castle, Kent, of WILLIAM of THORPE by Abp. T. ARUNDELL, 7 August 1407. Edited by W. TYNDALE, 1530. This is the best account of Lollardism from the inside, given by one who was the leader of the second generation of Lollards.

English Voyages, Travels, Commerce, etc. etc.

2. J. CHILTON. Travels in Mexico. 1568-1575.
3. J. BION. An Account of the Torments, etc. 1708.

English Life and Progress.

4. The most dangerous Adventure of R. FERRIS, A. HILL, and W. THOMAS; who went in a boat by sea from London to Bristol. 1590.
5. Leather. A Discourse to Parliament. 1629.
6. H. PEACHAM. The Worth of a Penny, or a Caution to keep Money. 1641. With all the variations of the later Editions.
7. Sir W. PETTY. Political Arithmetic. [Written in 1677.] 1690. One of the earliest and best books on the Science of Wealth.

English Literature, Literary History, and Biography.

8. ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq. [Dean J. Swift.] Predictions for the year 1708. [One of these was the death of J. PARTRIDGE, the *Almanack* Maker, on 29 March 1708.] Other Tracts of this laughable controversy follow.
9. [J. GAY.] The Present State of Wit. 3 May 1711. [A Survey of our Periodical Literature at this date; including the *Review*, *Tatler*, and *Spectator*.]
10. [Dr. J. ARBUTHNOT.] Law [*i.e. War*] is a Bottomless Pit, exemplified in the Case of the Lord STRUTT [*the Kings of Spain*], JOHN BULL [*England*] the Clothier, NICHOLAS FROG [*Holland*] the Linendraper, and LEWIS BABOON [LOUIS XIV. of Bourbon = *France*]. In Four Parts. 1712.
This famous Political Satire on the War of the Spanish Succession was designed to prepare the English public for the Peace of Utrecht, signed on 11 April 1713. In part I., on 28 February 1712, first appeared in our Literature, the character of JOHN BULL for an Englishman.
11. T. TICKELL. The life of ADDISON. 1721.
12. Sir R. STEELE. Epistle to W. CONGREVE [in reply.] 1722.

English Poetry.

13. The first printed *Robin Hood* Ballad. Printed about 1510.
14. W. PERCY. COELIA. [Sonnets.] 1594.
15. G. WITHER. FIDELIA. [This is WITHER'S second masterpiece. The Lament of a Woman thinking that she is forsaken in love.] 1615.
16. M. DRAYTON. IDEA. [Sonnets.] 1619.
17. The Interpreter. [A Political Satire interpreting the meaning of The Protestant, The Puritan, The Papist.] 1622.

VOL. VII.

Small Paper. Cloth.

English Political, Naval, and Military History, etc. etc.

1. Sir F. VERE, *General of the English troops in the Dutch service.*. Commentaries of his Services: at (1) the Storming of Cadiz in 1596, (2) the Action at Turnhout in 1597 (3) The Battle of Nieuport in 1600: but especially (4) the Siege of Ostend, of which place he was Governor from 11 June 1601 to 7 June 1602.

2. The Retaking of *The Friends' Adventure* from the French by R. LYDE and a boy. 1693.

English Voyages, Travels, Commerce, etc. etc.

3. H. PITMAN. Relation, etc. For doing noble Red Cross work at the Battle of Sedgemoor; this Surgeon was sent as a White Slave to Barbadoes, etc. 1689.

English Life and Progress.

4. W. KEMP'S [SHAKESPEARE'S fellow Actor] Nine Days Wonder; performed in a Morris Dance from London to Norwich. April 1600.

5. A series of Texts on the indignities offered to the Established Clergy, and especially the Private Chaplains, in the Restoration Age, by the Royalist laity; including

Dr. J. EACHARD'S witty 'Grounds of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion.' 1670.

English Literature, Literary History, and Biography.

6. Another Series of Tracts, in prose and verse, illustrating the great Public Services rendered by D. DEFOE, up to the death of Queen Anne; including:

D. DEFOE. An Appeal to Honour and Justice, etc. 1715.
D. DEFOE. The *True* Born Englishman. 1701.
D. DEFOE. The History of *Kentish Petition.* 1701.
D. DEFOE. LEGION'S *Memorial.* 1701.
D. DEFOE. The Shortest Way with the Dissenters, etc. 1702.
D. DEFOE. A Hymn to the Pillory. 1703.
D. DEFOE. Prefaces to the *Review.* 1704-1710.

English Poetry.

7. T. DELONEY. Three Ballads on the Armada fight. August 1588.

8. R. L. (1) DIELLA [Sonnets]; (2) The Love of Dom DIEGO and GYNEURA. 1596.

9. AN. SC. DAIPHHANTUS, or the Passions of Love. 1604.

See also above.

D. DEFOE. The *True* Born Englishman. 1701.
D. DEFOE. A Hymn to the Pillory. 1703.

VOL. VIII.

Small Paper. Cloth.

This Index Volume will, if possible, contain the following:—

English Political, Naval, and Military History, etc. etc.

1. J. PROCTOR. The History of WYATT'S Rebellion. 1554.
2. The burning of Paul's Church, London. 1568.
3. G. GASCOIGNE the Poet. The Spanish Fury at Antwerp. 1577.
4. J. LINGHAM. English Captains in the Low Countries. 1584.
5. The Burial of MARY QUEEN of Scots at Peterborough Cathedral. 1 August 1587.
6. T. M. The Entertainment of JAMES I. from Edinburgh to London. 1603.
7. Bp. W. BARLOW. The Hampton Court Conference. 1604.
8. The Speeches in the Star Chamber at the Censure of BASTWICK, BARTON, and PRYNNE. 1637.
9. N. N. The Expedition of the Prince of ORANGE. 1688.

English Voyages, Travels, Commerce, etc. etc.

10. The strange things that happened to R. HASLETON in his ten years Travels. 1585-1595.
11. E. PELLHAM. The miraculous Deliverence of eight Englishmen left in Greenland, anno 1630, nine months and twelve days.

English Life and Progress.

12. J. MAY. The Estate of Clothing [*the manufacture of woollen Cloths*] now in England. 1613.

English Poetry.

13. A translation [? by Sir E. DYER] of Six of the Idyllia of THEOCRITUS. 1588.
14. Verses penned by D. GWIN, eleven years a slave in the Spanish galleys, and presented by him to Queen ELIZABETH on 18 August 1588.
15. W. SMITH. CHLORIS. [Sonnets.] 1596.
16. T. STORER. The Life and Death of Cardinal WOLSEY. 1599.
17. E. W. Thameseidos. In 3 Cantos. 1600.
18. Some Collections of Posies. 1624-1679.

Chronological List of Works included in the Series.

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English Reprints.

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1.	**Milton**	*Areopagitica*	1644
2.	**Latimer**	*The Ploughers*	1549
3.	**Gosson**	*The School of Abuse* . . .	1579
4.	**Sidney**	*An Apology for Poetry* . . .	? 1580
5.	**E. Webbe**	*Travels*	1590
6.	**Selden**	*Table Talk*	1634-54
7.	**Ascham**	*Toxophilus*	1544
8.	**Addison**	*Criticism on* Paradise Lost . .	1711-12
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11.	**Gascoigne**	*The Steel Glass, etc.* . . .	1576
12.	**Earle**	*Micro-cosmographie* . . .	1628
13.	**Latimer**	*7 Sermons before EDWARD VI.* .	1549
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15.	**Puttenham**	*The Art of English Poesy* . .	1589
16.	**Howell**	*Instructions for Foreign Travel* .	1642
17.	**Udall**	*Roister Doister*	1553-66
18.	**Mk. of Eves.**	*The Revelation*, etc. . . .	1186-1410
19.	**James I.**	*A Counterblast to Tobacco*, etc. .	1604
20.	**Naunton**	*Fragmenta Regalia*	1653
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23.	**Ascham**	*The Schoolmaster*	1570
24.	**Tottel's**	*Miscellany* [Songs and Sonnets] .	1557
25.	**Lever**	*Sermons*	1550
26.	**W. Webbe**	*A Discourse of English Poetry* .	1586
27.	**Lord Bacon**	A Harmony of the *Essays* .	1597-1626
28.	**Roy, etc.**	*Read me, and be not wroth!* . .	1528
29.	**Raleigh, etc.**	*Last Fight of the 'Revenge'* . .	1591
30.	**Googe**	*Eglogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets* .	1563

(For full titles, etc., see pp. 11-20.)

1.

JOHN MILTON.

Areopagitica.

1644.

(*a*) AREOPAGITICA: *A Speech of Mr.* JOHN MILTON *For the Liberty of Vnlicenc'd Printing, To the Parliament of England.*

(*b*) A Decree of Starre-Chamber, concerning Printing, made the eleuenth of July last past, 1637.

(*c*) An Order of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament for the Regulating of Printing, &c. 1643.

LORD MACAULAY. He attacked the licensing system in that sublime treatise which every statesman should wear as a sign upon his hand, and as frontlets between his eyes. —*Edinburgh Review, p.* 344, *August* 1825.

H. HALLAM. Many passages in this famous tract are admirably eloquent: an intense love of liberty and truth flows through it: the majestic soul of MILTON breathes such high thoughts as had not been uttered before.—*Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, iii. 660. *Ed.* 1839.

W. H. PRESCOTT. The most splendid argument, perhaps, the world had then witnessed on behalf of intellectual liberty.—*History of FERDINAND and ISABELLA*, iii. 391. *Ed.* 1845.

2.

HUGH LATIMER.

Ex-Bishop of Worcester.

The Ploughers.

1549.

A notable Sermon of ye reuerende father Master HUGHE LATIMER, *whiche he preached in ye Shrouds at paules churche in London on the xviii daye of Januarye.*

SIR R. MORISON. Did there ever any one (I say not in England only, but among other nations) flourish since the time of the Apostles; who preached the gospel more sincerely, purely, and honestly, than HUGH LATIMER, Bishop of *Worcester.* — *Apomaxis Calumniarum . . quibus JOANNES COCLEUS &c.*, f. 78. *Ed.* 1537.

It was in this Sermon, that LATIMER (himself an ex-Bishop) astonished his generation, by saying that the Devil was the most diligent Prelate and Preacher in all England. "Ye shal neuer fynde him idle I warraunte you."

3.

STEPHEN GOSSON

Stud. Oxon.

The School of Abuse.

1579.

(*a*) *The Schoole of Abuse. Conteining a pleasaunt inuective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters, and such like Caterpillers of a Common wealth; Setting vp the Flagge of Defiance to their mischieuous exercise, and ouerthrowing their Bulwarkes, by Prophane Writers, Naturall reason and common experience.*

1579.

(*b*) *An Apologie of the Schoole of Abuse, against Poets, Pipers, Players, and their Excusers.* [*Dec.*]

1579.

∴ This attack is thought to have occasioned Sir PHILIP SIDNEY's writing of the following *Apologie for Poesie.*

GOSSON was, in succession, Poet, Actor, Dramatist, Satirist, and a Puritan Clergyman.

4.

Sir PHILIP SIDNEY.

An Apology for Poetry.

[? 1580.]

An Apologie for Poetrie. Written by the right noble, vertuous, and learned Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, *Knight.* 1595.

H. W. LONGFELLOW. The defence of Poetry is a work of rare merit. It is a golden little volume, which the scholar may lay beneath his pillow, as CHRYSOSTOM did the works of ARISTOPHANES. — *North American Review, p.* 57. *January* 1832.

The Work thus divides itself:

The Etymology of Poetry.
The Anatomy of the Effects of Poetry.
The Anatomy of the Parts of Poetry.
Objections to Poetry answered.
Criticism of the existing English Poetry.

5.

EDWARD WEBBE.

A Chief Master Gunner.

Travels.

1590.

The rare and most vvonderful thinges which EDWARD WEBBE *an Englishman borne, hath seene and passed in his troublesome trauailes, in the Cities of Ierusalem, Damasko, Bethelem and Galely: and in all the landes of Iewrie, Egipt, Grecia, Russia, and in the Land of Prester John.*

Wherein is set foorth his extreame slauerie sustained many yeres togither, in the Gallies and wars of the great Turke against the Landes of Persia, Tartaria, Spaine, and Portugall, with the manner of his releasement and coming to England. [1590.]

6.

JOHN SELDEN.

Table Talk.

[1634-1654.]

Table Talk: being the Discourses of JOHN SELDEN, *Esq.; or his Sence of various Matters of weight and high consequence, relating especially to Religion and State.* 1689.

S. T. COLERIDGE. There is more weighty bullion sense in this book than I ever found in the same number of pages of any uninspired writer. . . . O! to have been with SELDEN over his glass of wine, making every accident an outlet and a vehicle of wisdom.—*Literary Remains*, iii. 361-2. *Ed.* 1836.

H. HALLAM. This very short and small volume gives, perhaps, a more exalted notion of SELDEN'S natural talents than any of his learned writings. — *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, iii. 347. *Ed.* 1836.

Above all things, Liberty!

7.

ROGER ASCHAM.

Toxophilus.

1544.

Toxophilus, the Schole of Shootinge, conteyned in two bookes.

To all Gentlemen and yomen of Englande, pleasaunte for theyr pastime to rede, and profitable for theyr use to follow both in war and peace.

In a dialogue between *TOXOPHILUS* and *PHILOLOGUS*, ASCHAM not only gives us one of the very best books on Archery in our language; but as he tells King Henry VIII., in his Dedication, "this litle treatise was purposed, begon, and ended of me, onelie for this intent, that Labour, Honest pastime, and Vertu might recouer againe that place and right, that Idlenesse, Unthriftie Gaming, and Vice hath put them fro."

8.

JOSEPH ADDISON.

Criticism on *Paradise Lost.*

1711-1712.

From the *Spectator*, being its Saturday issues between 31 December, 1711, and 3 May 1712. In these papers, which constitute a Primer to *Paradise Lost*, ADDISON first made known and interpreted, to the general English public, the great Epic poem, which had then been published nearly half-a-century.

After a general discussion of the *Fable*, the *Characters*, the *Sentiments*, the *Language*, and the *Defects* of MILTON'S Great Poem; the Critic devotes a Paper to the consideration of the *Beauties* of each of its Twelve Books.

9.

JOHN LYLY,

Novelist, Wit, Poet, and Dramatist.

Euphues.

1579-1580.

EUPHVES, *the Anatomy of Wit. Very pleasant for all Gentlemen to reade, and most necessary to remember.*

VVherein are conteined the delights that Wit followeth in his youth, by the pleasantnesse of loue, and the happinesse he reapeth in age by the perfectnesse of Wisedome.

1579.

EUPHUES *and his England. Containing his voyage and aduentures, myxed with sundry pretie discourses of honest Loue, the description of the countrey, the Court, and the manners of that Isle.*

1580.

Of great importance in our Literary History.

10.

GEORGE VILLIERS,

Second Duke of BUCKINGHAM.

The Rehearsal.

1671.

The Rehearsal, as it was Acted at the Theatre Royal.

Many of the passages of anterior plays that were parodied in this famous Dramatic Satire on DRYDEN in the character of *BAYES*, are placed on opposite pages to the text. BRIAN FAIRFAX's remarkable life of this Duke of BUCKINGHAM is also prefixed to the play.

The Heroic Plays, first introduced by Sir W. D'AVENANT, and afterwards greatly developed by DRYDEN, are the object of this laughable attack. LACY, who acted the part of *BAYES*, imitated the dress and gesticulation of DRYDEN.

The Poet repaid this compliment to the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, in 1681, by introducing him in the character of *ZIMRI* in his *ABSOLOM and ACHITOPHEL*.

11.

GEORGE GASCOIGNE,

Soldier and Poet.

The Steel Glass, &c.

1576.

(*a*) *A Remembraunce of the wel imployed life, and godly end, of* GEORGE GASKOIGNE, *Esquire, who deceassed at Stalmford in Lincoln shire, the 7 of October,* 1577. *The reporte of* GEOR. WHETSTONS, *Gent.* [1577.]

There is only one copy of this metrical Life. It is in the Bodleian Library.

(*b*) *Certayne notes of instruction concerning the making of verse or ryme in English.* 1575.

This is our First printed piece of Poetical Criticism.

(*c*) *The Steele Glas.*

Written in Blank Verse.

Probably the fourth printed English Satire: those by BARCLAY, ROY, and Sir T. WYATT being the three earlier ones.

(*d*) *The Complaynt of* PHILOMENE. *An Elegie.* 1576.

12.

JOHN EARLE,

Afterwards Bishop of SALISBURY.

Microcosmographie.

1628.

Micro-cosmographie, or a Peece of the World discovered; in Essays and Characters.

This celebrated book of Characters is graphically descriptive of the English social life of the time, as it presented itself to a young Fellow of Merton College, Oxford; including *A She precise Hypocrite*, *A Sceptic in Religion*, *A good old man*, &c.

This Work is a notable specimen of a considerable class of books in our Literature, full of interest; and which help Posterity much better to understand the Times in which they were written.

13.

HUGH LATIMER,

Ex-Bishop of WORCESTER.

Seven Sermons before Edward VI.

1549.

The fyrste [*—seuenth*] *Sermon of Mayster* HUGHE LATIMER, *whiche he preached before the Kynges Maiestie wythin his graces palayce at Westminster on each Friday in Lent.*

1549.

Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH. LATIMER, . . brave, sincere, honest, inflexible, not distinguished as a writer or a scholar, but exercising his power over men's minds by a fervid eloquence flowing from the deep conviction which animated his plain, pithy, and free-spoken Sermons.—*History of England*, ii. 291. *Ed.* 1831.

14.

Sir THOMAS MORE.

Translation of Utopia.

1516-1557.

A frutefull and pleasaunt worke of the best state of a publique weale, and of the new yle called Utopia: VVritten in Latine by Sir THOMAS MORE *Knyght, and translated into Englyshe by* RALPH ROBYNSON.

Lord CAMPBELL. Since the time of PLATO, there had been no composition given to the world which, for imagination, for philosophical discrimination, for a familiarity with the principles of government, for a knowledge of the springs of human action, for a keen observation of men and manners, and for felicity of expression, could be compared to the *Utopia.—Lives of the Lord Chancellors* (*Life of Sir T. More*) i. 583, *Ed.* 1845.

In the imaginary country of Utopia, MORE endeavours to sketch out a State based upon two principles—(1) community of goods, no private property; and consequently (2) no use for money.

15.

GEORGE PUTTENHAM,

A Gentleman Pensioner to Queen ELIZABETH.

The Art of English Poesy.

1589.

The Arte of English Poesie. Contriued into three Bookes: The first of POETS *and* POESIE, *the second of* PROPORTION, *the third of* ORNAMENT.

W. OLDYS. It contains many pretty observations, examples, characters, and fragments of poetry for those times, now nowhere else to be met with. — *Sir WALTER RALEIGH*, liv. *Ed.* 1736.

O. GILCHRIST. On many accounts one of the most curious and entertaining, and intrinsically one of the most valuable, books of the age of QUEEN ELIZABETH. The copious intermixture of contemporary anecdote, tradition, manners, opinions, and the numerous specimens of coeval poetry nowhere else preserved, contribute to form a volume of infinite amusement, curiosity, and value. — *Censura Literaria*, i. 339. *Ed.* 1805.

This is still also an important book on Rhetoric and the Figures of Speech.

16.

JAMES HOWELL,

Clerk of the Council to CHARLES I.; afterwards Historiographer to CHARLES II.

Instructions for Foreign Travel.

1642.

Instructions for forreine travell. Shewing by what cours, and in what compasse of time, one may take an exact Survey of the Kingdomes and States of Christendome, and arrive to the practicall knowledge of the Languages, to good purpose.

The *MURRAY, BÆDEKER,* and *Practical Guide* to the Grand Tour of Europe, which, at that time, was considered the finishing touch to the complete education of an English Gentleman.

The route sketched out by this delightfully quaint Writer, is France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, and Holland. The time allowed is 3 years and 4 months: the months to be spent in travelling, the years in residence at the different cities.

17.

NICHOLAS UDALL,

Master, first of Eton College, then of Westminster School.

Roister Doister.

[1553-1566.]

This is believed to be the first true English Comedy that ever came to the press.

From the unique copy, which wants a title-page, now at Eton College; and which is thought to have been printed in 1566.

Dramatis Personæ.

RALPH ROISTER DOISTER.
MATTHEW MERRYGREEK.
GAWIN GOODLUCK, *affianced to Dame* CUSTANCE.
TRISTRAM TRUSTY, *his friend.*
DOBINET DOUGHTY, *"boy" to* ROISTER DOISTER.
TOM TRUEPENNY, *servant to Dame* CUSTANCE.
SIM SURESBY, *servant to* GOODLUCK.
Scrivener.
Harpax.

Dame CHRISTIAN CUSTANCE, *a widow.*
MARGERY MUMBLECRUST, *her nurse.*
TIBET TALKAPACE } *her*
ANNOT ALYFACE } *maidens*

18.

A Monk of Evesham.

The Revelation, &c.

1186[-1410]. 1485.

¶ Here begynnyth a maruelous reuelacion that was schewyd of almighty god by sent Nycholas to a monke of Euyshamme yn the days of Kynge Richard the fyrst. And the yere of owre lord. M.C.Lxxxxvi.

One of the rarest of English books printed by one of the earliest of English printers, WILLIAM DE MACLINIA; who printed this text about 1485, *in the lifetime of CAXTON.*

The essence of the story is as old as it professes to be; but contains later additions, the orthography being of about 1410. It is very devoutly written, and contains a curious Vision of Purgatory.

The Writer is a prototype of BUNYAN; and his description of the Gate in the Crystal Wall of Heaven, and of the solemn and marvellously sweet Peal of the Bells of Heaven that came to him through it, is very beautiful.

19.

JAMES I.

A Counterblast to Tobacco.

1604.

(*a*) *The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Diuine Arte of Poesie.*

Printed while JAMES VI. of Scotland, at Edinburgh in 1585; and includes *Ane Schort treatise, conteining some Reulis and Cautelis to be obseruit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie*, which is another very early piece of printed Poetical Criticism.

(*b*) *A Counterblaste to Tobacco.* 1604.

To this text has been added a full account of *the Introduction and Early use of Tobacco in England.* The herb first came into use in Europe as a medicinal leaf for poultices: smoking it was afterwards learnt from the American Indians.

Our Royal Author thus sums up his opinion:

"A custome lothsome to the eye, hatefull to the nose, harmefull to the braine, dangerous to the lungs, and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomlesse."

20.

Sir ROBERT NAUNTON,

Master of the Court of Wards.

Fragmenta Regalia.

1653.

Fragmenta Regalia: or Observations on the late Queen ELIZABETH, *her Times and Favourites.* [1630.]

Naunton writes:

"And thus I have delivered up this my poor Essay; a little Draught of this great Princess, and her Times, with the Servants of her State and favour."

21.

THOMAS WATSON,

Londoner, Student-at-Law.

Poems.

1582-1593.

(*a*) *The* Ἑκατομπαθια *or Passionate Centurie of Loue. Diuided into two parts: whereof, the first expresseth the Authours sufferance in Loue: the latter, his long farewell to Loue and all his tyrannie.* 1582.

(*b*) MELIBŒUS, *Siue Ecloga in obitum Honoratissimi Viri Domini* FRANCISCI WALSINGHAMI. 1590.

(*c*) *The same translated into English, by the Author.* 1590.

(*d*) *The Tears of Fancie, or Loue disdained.* 1593.

From the *unique* copy, wanting *Sonnets* 9-16, in the possession of S. CHRISTIE MILLER, Esq., of Britwell.

22.

WILLIAM HABINGTON.

Castara.

1640.

CASTARA. *The third Edition. Corrected and augmented.*

CASTARA was Lady LUCY HERBERT, the youngest child of the first Lord POWIS; and these Poems were chiefly marks of affection during a pure courtship followed by a happy marriage. With these, are also Songs of Friendship, especially those referring to the Hon. GEORGE TALBOT.

In addition to these Poems, there are four prose Characters; on *A Mistress*, *A Wife*, *A Friend*, and *The Holy Man*.

23.

ROGER ASCHAM.

The Schoolmaster.

1570.

The Scholemaster, or plaine and perfite way of teachyng children, to vnderstand, write, and speake, in Latin tong, but specially purposed for the priuate brynging vp of youth in Ientlemen and Noble mens houses, &c.

This celebrated Work contains the story of Lady JANE GREY'S delight in reading *PLATO*, an attack on the *Italianated* Englishman of the time, and much other information not specified in the above title.

In it, ASCHAM gives us very fully his plan of studying Languages, which may be described as *the double translation of a model book*.

24.

HENRY HOWARD, *Earl of* SURREY.
Sir THOMAS WYATT.
NICHOLAS GRIMALD.
Lord VAUX.

Tottel's Miscellany.

5 June, 1557.

Songes and Sonettes, vvritten by the right honorable Lorde HENRY HOWARD *late Earle of* SURREY, *and other.*

With 39 additional Poems from the second edition by the same printer, RICHARD TOTTEL, of 31 July, 1557.

This celebrated Collection is the First of our Poetical Miscellanies, and also the first appearance in print of any considerable number of English Sonnets.

TOTTEL in his *Address to the Reader*, says:

"That to haue wel written in verse, yea and in small parcelles, deserueth great praise, the workes of diuers Latines, Italians, and other, doe proue sufficiently. That our tong is able in that kynde to do as praiseworthely as ye rest, the honorable stile of the noble earle of Surrey, and the weightinesse of the depe-witted Sir Thomas Wyat the elders verse, with seuerall graces in sondry good Englishe writers, doe show abundantly."

25.

Rev. THOMAS LEVER,

Fellow and Preacher of St John's College, Cambridge.

Sermons.

1550.

(*a*) *A fruitfull Sermon in Paules church at London in the Shroudes.*

(*b*) *A Sermon preached the fourth Sunday in Lent before the Kynges Maiestie, and his honorable Counsell.*

(*c*) *A Sermon preached at Pauls Crosse.*

1550.

These Sermons are reprinted from the original editions, which are of *extreme* rarity. They throw much light on the communistic theories of the Norfolk rebels; and the one at Paul's Cross contains a curious account of Cambridge University life in the reign of EDWARD VI.

26.

WILLIAM WEBBE,

Graduate.

A Discourse of English Poetry.

1586.

A Discourse of English Poetrie. Together with the Authors iudgement, touching the reformation of our English Verse.

Another of the early pieces of Poetical Criticism, written in the year in which SHAKESPEARE is supposed to have left Stratford for London.

Only two copies of this Work are known, one of these was sold for £64

This Work should be read with STANYHURST'S *Translation of Æneid, I.-IV.*, 1582, see p. 64. WEBBE was an advocate of English Hexameters; and here translates VIRGIL'S first two Eglogues into them. He also translates into Sapphics COLIN'S Song in the Fourth Eglogue of SPENSER'S *Shephard's Calendar*.

27.

FRANCIS BACON,

afterwards Lord VERULAM Viscount ST. ALBANS.

A Harmony of the *Essays*, &c.

1597-1626.

And after my manner, I alter ever, when I add. So that nothing is finished, till all be finished.—Sir FRANCIS BACON, 27 Feb. 1610-[11.]

(*a*) *Essayes, Religious Meditations, and Places of perswasion and dissuasion.* 1597.

(*b*) *The Writings of Sir* FFRANCIS BACON *Knight the Kinges Sollicitor Generall in Moralitie, Policie, Historie.*

(*c*) *The Essaies of Sir* FRANCIS BACON *Knight, the Kings Solliciter Generall.*

1612.

(*d*) *The Essayes or Counsells, Civill and Morall of* FRANCIS *Lord* VERULAM, *Vicount* ST. ALBAN. 1625.

28.

WILLIAM ROY. JEROME BARLOW.

Franciscan Friars.

Read me, and be not wroth!

[1528].

(*a*) *Rede me and be nott wrothe,*
For I saye no thynge but trothe.
I will ascende makynge my state so hye,
That my pompous honoure shall never dye.
O Caytyfe when thou thynkest least of all,
With confusion thou shalt have a fall.

This is the famous satire on Cardinal WOLSEY, and is the First English *Protestant* book ever printed, not being a portion of Holy Scripture. See *p.* 22 for the Fifth such book.

The next two pieces form one book, printed by HANS LUFT, at Marburg, in 1530.

(*b*) *A proper dyaloge, betwene a Gentillman and a husbandman, eche complaynynge to other their miserable calamite, through the ambicion of the clergye.*

(*c*) *A compendious old treatyse, shewynge, how that we ought to haue the scripture in Englysshe.*

29.

Sir WALTER RALEIGH.
GERVASE MARKHAM.
J. H. VAN LINSCHOTEN.

The Last Fight of the "Revenge."

1591.

(*a*) *A Report of the trvth of the fight about the Iles of Acores, this last la Sommer. Betwixt the* REVENGE, *one of her Maiesties Shippes, and an* ARMADA *of the King of Spaine.*

[By Sir W. RALEIGH.]

(*b*) *The most honorable Tragedie of Sir* RICHARD GRINUILE, *Knight.* 1595.

[By GERVASE MARKHAM.]

(*c*) [*The Fight and Cyclone at the Azores.*

By JAN HUYGHEN VAN LINSCHOTEN.]

Several accounts are here given of one of the most extraordinary Sea fights in our Naval History.

30.

BARNABE GOOGE.

Eglogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets.

1563.

Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes Newly written by BARNABE GOOGE.

Three copies only known. Reprinted from the *Huth* copy.

In the prefatory *Notes of the Life and Writings of B. GOOGE*, will be found an account of the trouble he had in winning MARY DARELL for his wife.

A new Literature generally begins with imitations and translations. When this book first appeared, Translations were all the rage among the "young England" of the day. This Collection of *original* Occasional Verse is therefore the more noticeable. The Introduction gives a glimpse of the principal Writers of the time, such as the Authors of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, the Translators of SENECA'S *Tragedies*, &c., and including such names as BALDWIN, BAVANDE, BLUNDESTON, NEVILLE, NORTH, NORTON, SACKVILLE, and YELVERTON.

The English Scholar's Library.

16 Parts are now published, in Cloth Boards,
Any part may be obtained separately.

The general character of this Series will be gathered from the following pages:—22-28.

1. William Caxton. **Reynard the Fox,** . .
2. John Knox. **The First Blast of the Trumpet,**
3. Clement Robinson and *others*. **A handful of Pleasant Delights,** . . . . .
4. [Simon Fish.] **A Supplication for the Beggars,**
5. [*Rev.* John Udall.] **Diotrephes,** . . .
6. [?] **The Return from Parnassus,** . .
7. Thomas Decker. **The Seven Deadly Sins of London,** . . . . . .
8. Edward Arber. **An Introductory Sketch to the 'Martin Marprelate' Controversy, 1588-1590,** . . . . . .
9. [*Rev.* John Udall.] **A Demonstration of Discipline,** . . . . . .
10. Richard Stanihurst. **'Æneid I.-IV.'** in English hexameters, ...
11. **'The Epistle,'** . . . . . .
12. Robert Green. **Menaphon,** . . . .
13. George Joy. **An Apology to William Tyndale,**
14. Richard Barnfield. **Poems,** . . . .
15. *Bp.* Thomas Cooper. **An Admonition to the People of England,** . . . . .
16. *Captain* John Smith. **Works.** 1120 pages. Six Facsimile Maps. 2 Vols., ...

1.

William Caxton,

our first Printer.

Translation of
REYNARD THE FOX.
1481.

[COLOPHON.] *I haue not added ne mynusshed but haue folowed as nyghe as I can my copye which was in dutche / and by me* WILLIAM CAXTON *translated in to this rude and symple englyssh in th*[*e*] *abbey of westmestre.*

Interesting for its own sake; but especially as being translated as well as printed by CAXTON, who finished the printing on 6 June 1481.

The Story is the History of the Three fraudulent Escapes of the Fox from punishment, the record of the Defeat of Justice by flattering lips and dishonourable deeds. It also shows the struggle between the power of Words and the power of Blows, a conflict between Mind and Matter. It was necessary for the physically weak to have Eloquence: the blame of REYNARD is in the frightful misuse he makes of it.

The author says, "There is in the world much seed left of the Fox, which now over all groweth and cometh sore up, though they have no red beards."

2.

John Knox,

the Scotch Reformer.

THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET, &C.
1558.

(*a*) *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women.*

(*b*) *The Propositions to be entreated in the Second* BLAST.

This work was wrung out of the heart of JOHN KNOX, while, at Dieppe, he heard of the martyr fires of England, and was anguished thereby. At that moment, the liberties of Great Britain, and therein the hopes of the whole World, lay in the laps of four women —MARY of Loraine, the Regent of Scotland; her daughter MARY (the Queen of Scots); Queen MARY TUDOR; and the Princess ELIZABETH.

The Volume was printed at Geneva.

(*c*) KNOX'S *apologetical Defence of his* FIRST BLAST, &C. *to Queen* ELIZABETH.
1559.

3.

Clement Robinson,

and divers others.

A HANDFUL OF PLEASANT DELIGHTS.
1584.

A Handefull of pleasant delites, Containing sundrie new Sonets and delectable Histories, in diuers kindes of Meeter. Newly deuised to the newest tunes that are now in vse, to be sung: euerie Sonet orderly pointed to his proper Tune. With new additions of certain Songs, to verie late deuised Notes, not commonly knowen, nor vsed heretofore.

OPHELIA quotes from *A Nosegaie &c.* in this Poetical Miscellany; of which only one copy is now known.

It also contains the earliest text extant of the *Ladie Greensleeues*, which first appeared four years previously.

This is the Third printed Poetical Miscellany in our language.

4.

[Simon Fish,

of Gray's Inn.]

A Supplication for the Beggars.

[? 1529.]

A Supplicacyon for the Beggars.

Stated by J. Fox to have been distributed in the streets of London on Candlemas Day [2 Feb. 1529].

This is the Fifth Protestant book (not being a portion of Holy Scripture) that was printed in the English Language.

The authorship of this anonymous tract, is fixed by a passage in Sir T. More's *Apology*, of 1533, quoted in the Introduction.

5.

[Rev. John Udall,

Minister at Kingston on Thames.]

Diotrephes.

[1588.]

The state of the Church of Englande, laid open in a conference betweene Diotrephes *a Byshopp,* Tertullus *a Papiste,* Demetrius *an vsurer,* Pandochus *an Innekeeper, and* Paule *a preacher of the word of God.*

This is the forerunning tract of the *Martin Marpre late Controversy*. For the production of it, Robert Waldegrave, the printer, was ruined; and so became available for the printing of the Martinist invectives.

The scene of the Dialogue is in Pandochus's Inn, which is in a posting-town on the high road from London to Edinburgh.

6.

[?]

The Return from Parnassus.

[Acted 1602.] 1606.

The Returne from Pernassus: or The Scourge of Simony. Publiquely acted by the Students in Saint Iohns Colledge in Cambridge.

This play, written by a University man in December 1601, brings William Kemp and Richard Burbage on to the Stage, and makes them speak thus:

"Kemp. Few of the vniuersity pen plaies well, they smell too much of that writer *Ouid* and that writer *Metamorphosis*, and talke too much of *Proserpina* and *Iuppiter*. Why herees our fellow *Shakespeare* puts them all downe, I [*Ay*] and *Ben Ionson* too. O that *Ben Ionson* is a pestilent fellow, he brought vp *Horace* giuing the Poets a pill, but our fellow *Shakespeare* hath given him a purge that made him beray his credit:

"Burbage. It's a shrewd fellow indeed:"

What this controversy between Shakespeare and Jonson was, has not yet been cleared up. It was evidently recent, when (in Dec. 1601) this play was written.

7.

Thomas Decker,

the Dramatist.

THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS OF LONDON, &c.

1606.

The Seuen deadly Sinnes of London: drawn in seuen seuerall Coaches, through the seuen severall Gates of the Citie, bringing the Plague with them.

A prose allegorical Satire, giving a most vivid picture of London life, in October 1606.

The Seven Sins are—

FRAUDULENT BANKRUPTCY.
LYING.
CANDLELIGHT (*Deeds of Darkness*).
SLOTH.
APISHNESS (*Changes of Fashion*).
SHAVING (*Cheating*), and
CRUELTY.

Their chariots, drivers, pages, attendants, and followers are all allegorically described.

8.

The Editor.

AN INTRODUCTORY SKETCH TO THE MARTIN MARPRELATE CONTROVERSY.

1588-1590.

(*a*) *The general Episcopal Administration, Censorship, &c.*
(*b*) *The Origin of the Controversy.*
(*c*) *Depositions and Examinations.*
(*d*) *State Documents.*
(*e*) *The Brief held by Sir* JOHN PUCKERING, *against the Martinists.*

The Rev. J. UDALL (who was however *not* a Martinist); Mrs. CRANE, of Molesey; Rev. J. PENRY; Sir R. KNIGHTLEY, of Fawsley, near Northampton; HUMFREY NEWMAN, the London cobler; JOHN HALES, Esq. of Coventry; Mr. and Mrs. WEEKSTON, of Wolston; JOB THROCKMORTON, Esq.; HENRY SHARPE, bookbinder of Northampton, and the four printers.

(*f*) *Miscellaneous Information.*
(*g*) *Who were the Writers who wrote under the name of* MARTIN MARPRELATE?

9.

[Rev John Udall,

Minister at Kingston on Thames.]

A DEMONSTRATION OF DISCIPLINE.

1588.

A Demonstration of the trueth of that discipline which CHRISTE *hath prescribed in his worde for the gouernement of his Church, in all times and places, vntill the ende of the worlde.*

Printed with the secret Martinist press, at East Molesey, near Hampton Court, in July 1588; and secretly distributed with the *Epitome* in the following November.

For this Work, UDALL lingered to death in prison.

It is perhaps the most complete argument, in our language, for Presbyterian Puritanism, as it was then understood. Its author asserted for it, the infallibiljty of a Divine Logic; but two generations had not passed away, before (under the teachings of Experience) much of this Church Polity had been discarded.

10.

Richard Stanyhurst,

the Irish Historian.

Translation of
ÆNEID I–IV.
1582.

Thee first fovre Bookes of VIRGIL *his* Æneis *translated intoo English heroical* [*i.e.*, hexameter] *verse by* RICHARD STANYHURST, *wyth oother Poëtical diuises theretoo annexed. Imprinted at Leiden in Holland by* IOHN PATES, *Anno M. D. LXXXII.*

This is one of the oddest and most grotesque books in the English language; and having been printed in Flanders, the original Edition is of *extreme* rarity.

The present text is, by the kindness of Lord ASHBURNHAM and S. CHRISTIE-MILLER, Esq., reprinted from the only two copies known, neither of which is quite perfect.

GABRIEL HARVEY desired to be epitaphed, *The Inventor of the English Hexameter*; and STANYHURST, in imitating him, went further than anyone else in maltreating English words to suit the exigencies of Classical feet.

11.

Martin Marprelate.

THE EPISTLE.
1588.

Oh read c · D. JOHN BRIDGES, *for it is a worthy worke: Or an epitome of the fyrste Booke of that right worshipfull volume, written against the Puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste,* JOHN BRIDGES, *Presbyter, Priest or Elder, doctor of Diuillitie, and Deane of Sarum.*

The Epitome [p. 26] *is not yet published, but it shall be, when the Byshops are at conuenient leysure to view the same. In the meane time, let them be content with this learned Epistle.*

Printed oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bounsing Priest, at the cost and charges of M. MARPRELATE, *gentleman.*

12.

Robert Greene, M.A.

MENAPHON.
1589.

MENAPHON. CAMILLAS *alarum to slumbering* EUPHUES, *in his melancholie Cell at Silexedra. VVherein are deciphered the variable effects of Fortune, the wonders of Loue, the triumphes of inconstant Time. Displaying in sundrie conceipted passions* (*figured in a continuate Historie*) *the Trophees that Vertue carrieth triumphant, maugre the wrath of Enuie, or the resolution of Fortune.*

One of GREENE's novels, with TOM NASH's Preface, so important in reference to the earlier *HAMLET*, before SHAKESPEARE's tragedy.

GREENE's "love pamphlets" were the most popular Works of Fiction in England, up to the appearance of Sir P. SIDNEY's *Arcadia* in 1590.

13.

George Joy,

an early Protestant Reformer.

An Apology to Tindale.

1535.

An Apologye made by George Joye *to satisfye* (*if it may be*) w. Tindale: *to pourge and defende himself ageinst so many sclaunderouse lyes fayned vpon him in* Tindals *vncharitable and vnsober* Pystle *so well worthye to be prefixed* for the Reader *to induce him into the vnderstanding of hys* new Testament, diligently corrected and printed in the yeare of our Lorde 1534, in Nouember

[Antwerp, 27 Feb. 1535.]

This almost lost book is our only authority in respect to the surreptitious editions of the English *New Testament*, which were printed for the English market with very many errors, by Antwerp printers who knew not English, in the interval between Tindale's first editions in 1526, and his revised Text (above referred to) in 1534.

14.

Richard Barnfield,

of Darlaston, Staffordshire.

Poems.

1594-1598.

The affectionate Shepheard. Containing the Complaint of Daphnis *for the Loue of* Ganymede.

In the following Work, Barnfield states that this is "an imitation of *Virgill*, in the second Eglogue of *Alexis*."

Cynthia. *With Certaine Sonnets, and the Legend of* Cassandra. 1595.

The Author thus concludes his Preface: "Thus, hoping you will beare with my rude conceit of *Cynthia* (if for no other cause, yet, for that it is the First Imitation of the verse of that excellent Poet, Maister *Spencer*, in his *Fayrie Queene*), I leaue you to the reading of that, which I so much desire may breed your Delight."

The Encomion of Lady Pecunia: *or, The praise of Money.* 1598.

Two of the Poems in this Text have been wrongly attributed to Shakespeare. The disproof is given in the Introduction.

15.

T[homas] C[ooper].

[*Bishop of* Winchester.]

Admonition to the People of England.

[1589.]

An admonition to the people of England: VVherein are answered, not onely the slaunderous vntruethes, reprochfully vttered by Martin *the Libeller, but also many other Crimes by some of his broode, objected generally against all Bishops, and the chiefe of the Cleargie, purposely to deface and discredite the present state of the Church.*

[*Jan.* 1589.]

This is the official reply on the part of the Hierarchy, to *Martin Marprelate's Epistle of* [Nov.] 1508: see No. 11 on *p.* 24.

It was published between the appearance of the *Epistle* and that of the *Epitome*.

16.

Captain John Smith,

President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England.

WORKS.—1608-1631.

A complete edition, with six facsimile plates.

Occasion was taken, in the preparation of this Edition, dispassionately to test the Author's statements. The result is perfectly satisfactory. The Lincolnshire Captain is to be implicity believed in all that he relates of his own personal knowledge.

The following are the chief Texts in this Volume:—

(1.) **A true Relation of Occurences in Virginia.** 1608.
(2.) **A Map of Virginia.** 1612.
(3.) **A Description of New England.** 1616.
(4.) **New England's Trials.** 1620 and 1622.
(5.) **The History of Virginia, New England, and Bermuda.** 1624.
(6.) **An Accidence for young Seamen.** 1626.
(7.) **His true Travels, Adventures, and Observations.** 1630.
(8.) **Advertisements for Planters in New England, or anywhere.** 1631.

The first Three English Books on America. [?1511]-1555.

This Work is a perfect Encyclopædia respecting the earliest Spanish and English Voyages to America.

Small Paper Edition, 456 pp., in One Volume, Demy 4to.
Large Paper Edition, in One Volume, Royal 4to.

The Three Books are—

(1.) **Of the new landes, etc.** Printed at Antwerp about 1511. *This is the first English book in which the word* America [*i.e.*, Armonica] *occurs.*

(2.) **A Treatise of the new India, etc.** Translated by RICHARD EDEN from SEBASTIAN MUENSTER'S *Cosmography:* and printed in 1553. *The Second English Book on America.*

(3.) **The Decades of the New World, etc.,** by PIETRO MARTIRE [PETRUS MARTYR], translated by RICHARD EDEN, and printed in 1555. *The Third English Book on America.* SHAKESPEARE obtained the character of CALIBAN from this Work.

A List of 837 London Publishers, 1553-1640.

This Master Key to English Bibliography for the period also gives the approximate period that each Publisher was in business.

Demy, 4to, 32 pp.

Fcap. 4to, Cloth, Gilt.

THE ONLY KNOWN FRAGMENT OF

The First printed English New Testament, in Quarto.

By W. TINDALE and W. ROY.

Sixty photo-lithographed pages; preceded by a critical PREFACE.

Briefly told, the story of this profoundly interesting work is as follows:—

In 1524 Tindale went from London to Hamburg; where remaining for about a year, he journeyed on to Cologne; and there, assisted by William Roy, subsequently the author of the satire on Wolsey, *Rede me and be nott wrothe* [see *p.* 19], he began this first edition in 4to, *with glosses*, of the English New Testament.

A virulent enemy of the Reformation, Cochlæus, at that time an exile in Cologne; learnt, through giving wine to the printer's men, that P. Quental the printer had in hand a secret edition of three thousand copies of the English New Testament. In great alarm, he informed Herman Rinck, a Senator of the city, who moved the Senate to stop the printing; but Cochlæus could neither obtain a sight of the Translators, nor a sheet of the impression.

Tindale and Roy fled with the printed sheets up the Rhine to Worms; and there completing this edition, produced also another in 8vo, *without glosses*. Both editions were probably in England by March 1526.

Of the six thousand copies of which they together were composed, there remain but this fragment of the First commenced edition, in 4to; and of the Second Edition, in 8vo, one complete copy in the Library of the Baptist College at Bristol, and an imperfect one in that of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

In the *Preface*, the original documents are given intact, in connection with *Evidence connected with the first Two Editions of the English New Testament, viz., in Quarto and Octavo—*

I. William Tindale's antecedent career.
II. The Printing at Cologne.
III. The Printing at Worms.
IV. William Roy's connection with these Editions.
V. The landing and distribution in England.
VI. The persecution in England.

Typographical and Literary Evidence connected with the present Fragment—

I. It was printed for Tindale by Peter Quental at Cologne, before 1526.
II. It is not a portion of the separate Gospel of *Matthew* printed previous to that year.
III. It is therefore certainly a fragment of the Quarto.

Is the Quarto a translation of Luther's *German Version?*

Text. The prologge. Inner Marginal References. Outer Marginal Glosses.

*** For a continuation of this Story see G. Joy's *Apology*, at *p.* 25.

Captain WILLIAM SIBORNE.

The Waterloo Campaign. 1815.

4th Ed. Crown 8vo. 832 *pages.* 13 *Medallion Portraits of Generals.* 15 *Maps and Plans.*

Bound in Red Cloth, uncut edges. FIVE SHILLINGS, Net.

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WILLIAM BEATTY, M.D., Surgeon of H.M.S. Victory.

An Authentic Narrative of the Death of Lord Nelson.

21st October 1805.

2nd Ed. Crown 8vo. 96 *pages.* *Two Illustrations:*

(1) **Of Lord NELSON in the dress he wore when he received his mortal wound.**

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Bound in Blue Cloth, uncut edges.

Other volumes in preparation.

3 *Vols. Fcap. 8vo, Cloth.*

The Paston Letters.

1422-1509.

A NEW EDITION, containing upwards of 400 letters, etc., hitherto unpublished.

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